Daily Report

Soviet Union

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FBIS-SOV-88-235 CONTENTS 7 December 1988

ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

Karpov Cited on Anniversary of INF Treaty *[TASS]* 1
U.S. Radar in UK Said To Violate ABM Treaty *[Chernyshev in TASS]* 1

WORLDWIDE ISSUES

Perfilyev Holds News Conference 6 Dec 2
Missile Talks With U.S. *[TASS]* 2
Azerbaijan Casualties *[Paris AFP]* 2
Soviet-Finnish Relations *[TASS]* 2
Norway Visit Postponed *[TASS]* 2
Perez de Cuellar on Gorbachev Speech, UN Issues *[Moscow TV]* 3
UN Supports Middle East Conference With PLO *[TASS]* 5
UN Envoy Favors Conference *[TASS]* 6
'Review' on Talks With France, 'Arafat Visa *[Maslennikov in PRAVDA 4 Dec]* 6
Nicaraguan UN Envoy Denounces U.S. Visa Denial *[TASS]* 8
Zagladin Addresses East-West Meeting in Paris *[TASS]* 9
Comments on Forum *[IZVESTIYA 5 Dec]* 9
EEC Leaders' Meeting in Rhodes Concludes *[IZVESTIYA 6 Dec]* 9
NATO Headquarters Discussions Reviewed *[PRAVDA 3 Dec]* 10
Reducing NATO Maneuvers in FRG Discussed *[Levin on Moscow Radio]* 10
NATO Said To Seek Control in Indian Ocean *[TASS]* 11
Law of Sea Symposium Backs 1982 Convention *[PRAVDA 3 Dec]* 11
Soviet Motorship Rescued in North Sea *[TASS]* 11
International Physicians Appeal to Gorbachev, Bush *[TASS]* 12
WFDY Executive Committee Session Ends in Kiev *[TASS]* 12

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

United States & Canada

Further Reportage on Gorbachev Visit to New York 13
Comparison of Gorbachev Departure *[Moscow Radio]* 13
PRAVDA Details Arrival *[7 Dec]* 13
Gorbachev Arrival Statement *[Moscow TV]* 13
Further on Arrival *[TASS]* 14
NY Prepares for Gorbachev *[TASS]* 14
Scene Set for Arrival *[PRAVDA 7 Dec]* 15
IZVESTIYA Previews Visit *[7 Dec]* 16
Interest in UN Speech Noted *[Matyash in TASS]* 17
Shishlin Comments on Visit *[London ITV]* 18
Speculation on Troop Reduction *[Hilversum International]* 18
Possible 'Christmas Present' *[Moscow International]* 19
Gerasimov Interview on Visit *[London ITV]* 19
Preparations for Bush Meeting *[PRAVDA 7 Dec]* 20
Bush Comments on Meeting Noted *[TASS]* 20
Bush Interest in Proposals Noted *[Moscow TV]* 21
Walters, Richardson Comment *[TASS]* 21
TASS Cites Bush Remarks at News Conference 22
TASS Notes Latest Appointments by Bush 22
Ambassador Dubinin Interviewed on Relations *[SOVETSKAYA KULTURA 3 Dec]* 22
TASS Notes Shuttle Landing, 'Spy Satellite' 24
Visa Department Head on Approval Statistics *[TASS]* 24

China

USSR-PRC Talks Termed 'Extremely Fruitful' *[Ovchinnikov in PRAVDA 6 Dec]* 25
Commentary Hails Visit *[Alekseyev on Moscow International]* 26
'New Stage' in Relations Seen *[Moscow Radio Peace and Progress]* 26
Soviet-Chinese Border Contacts 'Highly Valued' *[Petrovskiy on Moscow International]* 27
Commentary Hails PRC-Mongolian Border Treaty *[Nikolayev on Moscow International]* 28

Northeast Asia

Shevardnadze To Visit DPRK, Philippines *[Tokyo KYODO]* 28
North, South Korean Relations Described *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 6 Dec]* 28
Rogachev Meets Japanese Businessmen *[Moscow International]* 29
Commentary on Japanese 'Military Construction' *[Andrianov on Moscow Radio]* 29
Mongolian Parliamentary Delegation Arrives *[TASS]* 30
Visits Supreme Soviet *[Moscow TV]* 30
Mongolian Writer Proposes Removing Stalin Statue *[Moscow Radio]* 30

Southeast Asia & Pacific

SRV Communique on Withdrawal From Cambodia *[TASS]* 31
Vietnamese-Philippine Talks Called 'Positive' *[IZVESTIYA 5 Dec]* 31
Meeting on Cambodian Situation Postponed *[TASS]* 31
Observer Says Khmer Rouge Ready To Seize Power *[Fedorov on Moscow International]* 32
Gusev Comments on Cambodian Cooperation Talks *[Moscow TV]* 32
Cambodian Satellite Communications Station Opens *[Moscow TV]* 33
Burma Reports Party Leader Aung Gyi's Dismissal *[Vladimirov on Moscow International]* 33
PRAVDA Criticizes U.S. Asia-Pacific Policy *[Skalkin, 2 Dec]* 33

Near East & South Asia

Ryzhkov Receives Iranian Minister Iravani *[TASS]* 34
Tehran Reports Iravani Visit *[Tehran IRNA]* 35
Vorontsov, Afghanistan's Rabbani Continue Talks *[Moscow International]* 35
Anniversary of Treaty With Afghanistan Celebrated 35
Afghan Leaders' Greetings *[PRAVDA 5 Dec]* 35
Soviet Greetings to Afghanistan *[PRAVDA 5 Dec]* 36
Observer Views Afghan Treaty *[Vavilov in TASS]* 36
Afghan Telegrams Cite Continued Fighting *[Moscow TV]* 37
Government Congratulations to Bhutto Reported *[PRAVDA 4 Dec]* 37
Benazir Bhutto Cited on Policy Intentions *[PRAVDA 4 Dec]* 37
'Arafat Meeting With Swedish Minister Noted *[TASS]* 38
Prospects for Renewed Israeli Relations Viewed *[Moscow Radio Peace and Progress]* 38
Radio Calls For Continuing Peace Dialogue *[Moscow Radio Peace and Progress]* 38
Mubarak Has Talks With Iraqi, Jordanian Leaders *[PRAVDA 6 Dec]* 39

Sub-Saharan Africa

Angolan President Receives Adamishin in Luanda *[TASS]* 39
TASS Notes Negotiations on Angola Suspended 40
Suspension of Talks on Namibia Discussed *[Moscow International]* 40
South African Nuclear Program Assessed *[Gontar in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 19 Nov]* 41

East Europe

Zaykov Opens Prague Festival in Moscow *[PRAVDA 6 Dec]* 43
CSSR Representative Ends Visit *[Prague CTK]* 43
CSSR Party Official Holds Talks in USSR 43
CPCZ's Janak Arrives on Visit *[Prague Radio]* 43
Razumovskiy Meets With Janak *[PRAVDA 6 Dec]* 44
Shcherbitskiy Meets CSSR's Janak *[Moscow Radio]* 44

Katushev Holds Talks With CSSR's Sterba *[Prague Radio]* 44
Grosz Cited on Hungarian 'Renewal' Process *[PRAVDA 5 Dec]* 44
PRAVDA Cites Grosz Address to Budapest Aktiv *[2 Dec]* 44
Weekly on Hungary-Romania Diplomatic Incident *[LITERATURNAYA GAZETA 7 Dec]* 45
PZPR's Czyrek Receives RSFSR Delegation *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 4 Dec]* 45
Soviet-Polish History Commission Discusses Katyn *[PRAVDA 3 Dec]* 46
PRAVDA Cites Honecker SED Plenum Report *[2 Dec]* 46
GDR Leaders Meet With Poland's Rakowski *[PRAVDA 6 Dec]* 47
Roundtable Examines History of USSR-SFRY Ties *[PRAVDA 6 Dec]* 47
Article Analyzes Economic Problems in SFRY *[Gryzunov in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 2 Dec]* 48

West Europe

TASS Deputy Director on European Integration *[Sofia TRUD 28 Nov]* 50
Fernandez-Ordonez Prepares for Gorbachev Visit *[Madrid Radio]* 51
Italian Senate Committee Opposes F-16 Relocation *[PRAVDA 3 Dec]* 51
Further on Medvedev Delegation Visit to Portugal 51
Meets President Soares *[TASS]* 51
Press Reports Medvedev Activities *[PRAVDA 4 Dec]* 52
Met by Zaykov on Return *[TASS]* 52
Pope Receives TASS Deputy Director at Vatican *[TASS]* 52
Tarazevich, Parliamentary Delegation Visit Sweden *[TASS]* 53
Delegation Activities Reported *[TASS]* 53
Cooperation Talks With Danes Open in Copenhagen *[TASS]* 53
Computer Enterprise Established With Norwegians *[Moscow TV]* 53
Swedish Woman Sentenced for Drug Trafficking *[Stockholm Radio]* 54
Past West German Nuclear Accident 'Kept Secret' *[TASS]* 54

Latin America & Caribbean

Havana Press Center Opens for Gorbachev Visit *[TASS]* 54
TASS Cites Castro Revolution Anniversary Speech 54
Further on Delegation in Mexico for Inauguration 55
Meets Ortega, Belize Minister *[PRAVDA 3 Dec]* 55
Meets Mexican Senate Chairman *[TASS]* 55
Gorbachev Message Delivered *[TASS]* 55

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Political & Social

Deputies Electoral Commission's First Session *[PRAVDA 7 Dec]* 56
Estonian Supreme Soviet Convenes 5-7 December 56
Delays Economic Autonomy Decision *[Hamburg DPA]* 56
Session Continues for 2d Day *[Tallinn Radio]* 56
Kremlin Decree on Veto Rejected *[AFP]* 57
Bill To Condemn Stalinism *[Evald Laasi in Tallinn KODUMAA 23 Nov]* 57
Ryuytel Defends Estonia at 26 Nov Presidium *[Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA 29 Nov]* 59
KOMMUNIST Chief Criticizes Estonian Media *[PRAVDA 3 Dec]* 60
'Strong' Earthquake Damages Armenian Rayons 62
Government Commission Formed *[Yerevan Radio]* 62
100 Reportedly Killed *[AFP]* 62
TASS Reports Epicenter, Time 63
Further Reportage on Ethnic Unrest in Baku City 63
Worsening Situation 5 Dec *[SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA 6 Dec]* 63
Offi. ials' 'Deficiencies' Cited *[Baku Radio]* 64
Three Soldiers Wounded 5 Dec *[Baku Radio]* 64
Official Cites Casualties *[AFP]* 65
Lenin Square Sealed Off *[AFP]* 65
Call for 'Resolute Measures' *[Moscow TV]* 65
'Firm Position' of Cadres Needed *[Moscow Radio]* 66

Commandant Notes Improvement 67
Commandant on Troops' Purpose *[TASS]* 67
Work Situations in Baku, Yerevan *[SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA 7 Dec]* 68
Curfew in Azerbaijan Rayons *[Yerevan Radio]* 70
USSR Government, Citizens Act To Aid Refugees 70
Resolution Condemns Evictions *[PRAVDA 7 Dec]* 70
Armenians Accomodated in Azerbaijan *[Moscow TV]* 71
'Flow' From Armenia Continues *[Baku Radio]* 71
Peace Groups Adopt Appeal *[TASS]* 71
Charity Appeal for Refugees *[PRAVDA 6 Dec]* 72
PRAVDA on Refugee Problem *[7 Dec]* 72
'Explosive Situation' Prevails in Armenia 74
Rayon Officials Dismissed *[Moscow Radio]* 74
Official Bodies Lack 'Firmness' *[Yerevan International]* 74
Troops Assist in Gugarkskiy Rayon *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 6 Dec]* 74
Situation 'Stabilized' in Yerevan *[TASS]* 75
KOMMUNIST Chief Editor on Nationality Issue *[Bratislava PRAVDA 1 Dec]* 75
Kazakh SSR Releases Kamalidenov 'for Health' *[TASS]* 76
Medvedev Restructuring Speech to Latvian Aktiv *[Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA 20 Nov]* 76
Gorbachev Supreme Soviet Speech Published *[Moscow Radio]* 84
RSFSR Supreme Soviet Elections Viewed *[TASS]* 84
Siberia's Koptyug Addresses Supreme Soviet *[PRAVDA 1 Dec]* 85
Proposed Limit on Candidacies Defended *[IZVESTIYA 22 Nov]* 86
Work of Commission on Draft Laws Explained *[IZVESTIYA 25 Nov]* 86
Federative Citizenship Rules Defended *[PRAVDA 5 Dec]* 87
Terebilov Offers Plan for 'Law-Governed State' *[NEW TIMES No 44]* 89
Zagladin on Human Rights Conference Conditions *[Paris LE MONDE 3 Dec]* 93
Article Urges More Control Over Arms Spending *[MOSCOW NEWS No 46]* 93
Statistics To Reflect Living Conditions *[TASS]* 94
Internal Affairs Official Cited on Travel Abroad *[IZVESTIYA 11 Nov]* 95
Official Confirms 1957 Nuclear 'Disaster' *[Tokyo KYODO]* 97
Power Emergency 'Nothing To Do With Reactor' *[IZVESTIYA 20 Nov]* 97
'Disturbances' in Chernovtsy in Wake of Disease *[Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAINA 29 Nov]* 98
Teachers' Paper Under Threat of Closure *[MOSCOW NEWS No 47]* 98
New Monthly Newspaper on Consumer Rights Started *[Moscow Radio]* 99
Saratov Aircraft Plant Introduces Lease Contract *[Moscow TV]* 100
7th Day Adventist USSR Headquarters Opened *[IZVESTIYA 3 Dec]* 100
Leaders Sign Obituary of Former Government Aide *[IZVESTIYA 5 Dec]* 100
Semipalatinsk Oblast Receives Central TV *[Moscow Radio]* 101
Correction to Official's Interview on Hijacking 101

Agricultural

Ligachev Attends Food Industry Exhibition *[PRAVDA 3 Dec]* 101
Late Nov Weather, Crop Status Reported *[SELSKAYA ZHIZN 6 Dec]* 102
Agricultural Developments for 30 Nov-4 Dec *[Moscow Radio]* 103

Scientific

Joint French Crew Prepares for Space Walk *[TASS]* 103
News Conference Held on Energiya-Buran System 103
Safety Festures Noted *[TASS]* 103
System's Future Uses Outlined *[TASS]* 104
Additional Applications Noted *[Moscow Radio]* 104
Poor Security Cited in Radioactive Cesium Theft *[Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA 15 Nov]* 105

Karpov Cited on Anniversary of INF Treaty

LD0612142488 Moscow TASS in English 1410 GMT 6 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 6 TASS—By TASS diplomatic correspondent Vadim Biryukov: The Intermediate Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), signed in Washington on December 8, 1987, serves "as a sort of fuse for a process which should lead to a gradual reduction of nuclear forces on our planet," said USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Viktor Karpov.

The previous Soviet-U.S. treaties, SALT-1 and SALT-2, only restrained the nuclear arms race and put restrictions on the USSR and USA. "The INF Treaty is the first agreement in history which signifies a real cut in the nuclear arsenals of the USSR and the USA. This constitutes the revolutionary nature of this treaty," Viktor Karpov said in a conversation with the TASS diplomatic correspondent. The Soviet diplomat said that by the end of November this year the USSR had destroyed 170 medium-range missiles out of 889 while the USA 50 out of 670 medium-range missiles.

"Now that a year has passed since the signing of the treaty it became evident that experience accumulated by the Soviet and U.S. sides is important for carrying out the talks and monitoring verification. No doubt the treaty will play its role in future. Many provisions of the INF Treaty can form the basis of the treaty on reduction of strategic offensive weapons," Viktor Karpov continued.

According to the deputy minister, August 1 when the first missiles were destroyed in the Kazakhstan city of Saryozek was "undoubtedly the high point of the year. However, it was then that I thought that the first real result was received. The next one will be hard to obtain. But the game is worth the candle."

U.S. Radar in UK Said To Violate ABM Treaty

LD0612183988 Moscow TASS in English 1825 GMT 6 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 6 TASS—By TASS military news analyst Vladimir Chernyshev:

Spokesmen for the British leadership, when discussing the problems of strengthening European and world security, usually avoid speaking of their country's specific contribution to the important process. The world public, undoubtedly, would like to know how London is planning to participate practically in the business of reducing tensions and stabilising the military and political situation in the world.

The problem of consolidating the Soviet-U.S. ABM Treaty, which is the cornerstone in the cause of maintaining strategic stability and reducing strategic offensive arms, falls within this category, in particular.

It would seem, what has Britain to do with the agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States? It turns out, it has most direct bearing on it: The British Government abets Washington in circumventing one of the basic provisions of the ABM Treaty.

The Americans are building a basically new ABM station, the so-called large phased-array radar on British territory, at Fylingdales-Moor in Yorkshire.

Both the Soviet Union and the United States recognized in the ABM Treaty that such radar stations possess a considerable ABM potential, and formulated strict curbs on their location. They undertook not to deploy them anywhere except at stipulated locations on the territories of the Soviet Union and the United States: within one limited ABM system deployment area for each country, at test ranges, and along the periphery of their national territories and oriented outward.

Since Yorkshire can hardly be reckoned as part of the United States and Fylingdales-Moor as situated 'along the periphery of U.S. territory', the radar the officially proclaimed function of which is to warn against a missile attack may not be built there.

By launching the construction of the radar, the United States repeats its flagrant violation of the ABM Treaty through the deployment of a similar radar at Thule, Greenland. By allowing Washington to build the radar, London assists it in infringing upon the ABM Treaty.

Both Washington and London try to present the construction of the new radar as modernisation of radars which are part of the post of the U.S. system for the early warning of missile attack, the post which was set up at Fylingdales-Moor in 1962.

However, all this is just an excuse. Can there be any question of modernisation if a new high-powered radar operating on different principles and directly designed for anti-missile defence purposes is being built on British territory in place of old radars with paraboloids and characteristics which are indicative of the impossibility of their uses for ABM purposes?

Incidentally, a 'modernised' radar with three phased-array antennas will have a circular scanning capability, and the entire U.S. territory will be within its range, which is yet another most flagrant violation of the ABM treaty which bans orienting such radars towards the territory of one's own country.

Up to now London has not only failed to stop the arms race but, apparently, does not even intend to give up abetting in violating the treaty between the USSR and the United States.

Perfilyev Holds News Conference 6 Dec

Missile Talks With U.S.

LD0612152188 Moscow TASS in English 1512 GMT 6 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow, December 6 TASS—The Soviet Union considers useful the results of the second round of the Soviet-U.S working consultations on the questions of non-proliferation of missiles and missile technology, held in Moscow on December 1-2, Vadim Perfilyev, deputy chief of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry told a news briefing here. He said that the round underscored the importance of solving the problem and the two countries' interest in continuing direct contacts in a search for the possibilities of cooperation.

The Soviet approach was oriented to a search of ways in which both states could effectively cooperate in tackling the problem, Vadim Perfilyev said. Far from avoiding bilateral cooperation with the USA in this field, the Soviet side sees the creation of a multi-sided mechanism which would cover supply states with the advanced technological base of missile production and countries interested in obtaining access to space as the most effective way of coping with that problem. The Soviet-proposed world space organisation could become such a mechanism.

"The Soviet side proceeds from the fact that the solution of the question on non-proliferation should have no negative effect on international cooperation, including the transfer of relevant technology."

The discussion of the parameters of the non-proliferation regime will be continued. The question of holding the next round of consultations will be pursued through diplomatic channels, said Vadim Perfilyev.

Azerbaijan Casualties

AU0612134988 Paris AFP in English 1341 GMT 6 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow, Dec 6 (AFP)—Three people were killed and six wounded, including three soldiers, in further ethnic violence between Muslim Azeris and Christian Armenians in Azerbaijan in the last few days, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said Tuesday.

Spokesman Vadim Perfilyev told a news conference that none of those killed were in the capital Baku, where inter-ethnic tensions have run high since Sunday when soldiers broke up a demonstration by nationalist Azeris. He did not say when or where exactly the deaths occurred.

According to an Azerbaijani Foreign Ministry official, contacted by AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE, 17 people were wounded when the soldiers stopped Sunday's demonstration. Rallies have since been banned in Baku which is under curfew.

Mr. Perfilyev said that in Azerbaijani villages in outlying areas the situation remained "complicated".

Yerevan, the Armenian capital, was calm, according to Mr. Perfilyev.

Soviet press reports Tuesday said the Armenian situation was "extremely dangerous" because of fresh outbreaks of communal violence in several districts where Armenians live alongside Azeris. The arrival of thousands of refugees has apparently heightened the tension in both republics where a total 17 districts are now under curfew.

Soviet-Finnish Relations

LD0612145288 Moscow TASS in English 1440 GMT 6 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 6 TASS—It is noted with satisfaction in the Soviet Union that relations between the USSR and Finland, oriented to the future, are steadily and dynamically developing, a spokesman for the Soviet Foreign Ministry told reporters today. Vadim Perfilyev, deputy head of the ministry's Information Directorate, said that the Finnish people are marking their national holiday today: Independence Day, and that the dynamics of bilateral relations fully accord to the treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance, signed 40 years ago.

"The establishment of multifaceted policies of confidence now becomes a major component of international relations," the spokesman went on.

"In this connection, of special importance is the experience of a respectful attitude to the interests and distinctive views of one another which has been translated into specific joint deeds and ennobled Soviet-Finnish relations by profound mutual confidence."

Perfilyev said that by translating principles of peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems into practice the Soviet Union and Finland were making an important contribution to the establishment of trust, cooperation and mutual understanding in Europe and the rest of the world in the spirit of new political thinking.

Norway Visit Postponed

LD0612171088 Moscow TASS in English 1639 GMT 6 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 6 TASS—The stand of the participants in the recent Rhodes meeting of the leaders of the member-countries of the European Communities

who declared for the development of East-West relations and for economic cooperation with the member-countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) cannot but arouse our positive response, since this concerns cooperation of partners on a non-discriminatory basis, said Vadim Perfilyev, deputy head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Speaking at a briefing here today, he pointed out that "the ideas expressed at the meeting do not contradict our understanding of the tasks of building a 'common European home.'"

The spokesman welcomed the document, adopted at the Central American foreign ministers' meeting in Mexico City, which mapped out measures to stimulate the peace process in the region. The provisions contained in the document, he said, "cannot but satisfy all those who are interested in bringing about a political solution to the regional conflict at an earliest date, and convey mounting concern over the lack of real progress in the attainment of the above-mentioned goal".

Speaking of Finland's national holiday being marked today, the day of the proclamation of independence, Vadim Perfilyev pointed out: "The Soviet Union is gratified to state that relations between the USSR and Finland are notable for future-oriented cooperation and develop steadily and dynamically".

Attention has been paid in Moscow to the statement by Robert Mugabe, president of the Republic of Zimbabwe, chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement, who urged Israel's allies to agree to the convocation of an international Middle East peace conference in which the Palestine Liberation Organization would participate on a par with the other parties as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, the spokesman went on to say.

"We regard such stand as promoting the earliest solution to the task of establishing a just and comprehensive peace in the Middle East in the interests of all states and peoples of the region, and ending one of the most protracted regional conflicts", he said.

Perfilyev gave a positive evaluation of the draft intergovernment memorandum on the establishment of cooperation between the Soviet Union and the United States in combatting the trafficking of narcotics. The memorandum was coordinated in Washington at the end of November. He recalled in this connection that the Soviet Union is an active advocate of the development of international cooperation on both bilateral and multilateral basis in the field of combatting drug addiction and the trafficking of narcotics.

The Soviet Union regards as useful the results of the second round of the Soviet-U.S. working consultations in Moscow on December 1-2 on matters concerning non-proliferation of missiles and missile technology, Perfilyev pointed out.

At the same time he emphasised that "the Soviet side proceeds from the premise that a solution to the non-proliferation issues should not have a negative effect on international cooperation in meteorology and peaceful uses of outer space, including the transfer of appropriate technology".

A Soviet parliamentary delegation's reply visit to Norway, which was scheduled for December 6-10, has been postponed owing to urgent matters which required the presence of Vadim Zagladin, deputy chairman of the parliamentary group of the USSR, who was to head the delegation, in Moscow, the spokesman said.

"One should not look for hidden political motives in the postponement of the visit, and still less view it as a manifestation of disrespect for our neighbour in the north", he emphasised.

Perez de Cuellar on Gorbachev Speech, UN Issues

LD0312043688 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1912 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Interview with UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar by political observer Valentin Zorin and USSR State Radio and Television correspondent in New York Vladimir Zvyagin in New York; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Zorin] Hello, comrades. We are talking to Mr Perez de Cuellar, secretary general of the United Nations Organization, in the headquarters of that organization in New York. Mr Secretary General, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev is expected to make a speech in the very near future at the current session of the General Assembly. As secretary general what significance do you attach to this event and what do you expect from it?

[Perez de Cuellar, in English with superimposed Russian translation] Well, first of all I must say that I was very pleased to learn that Mr Gorbachev is coming to the UN. I invited him to come to the UN some time ago, when I had the pleasure of visiting him in Moscow and had a discussion with him about a wide range of issues. I invited him because I considered it extremely important for our organization to hear the leader of one of the most important—I would say the most important—member-country of our organization.

[Zvyagin] In his speeches, including those he has made most recently, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev has stressed the role of the United Nations in present international relations and has spoken about the fact that this role can and must be intensified, that it could be considerably greater. What could you say in this regard, Mr Secretary General?

[Perez de Cuellar] First of all, that I personally recognize—and the public expresses the opinion—that Mr Gorbachev is currently one of the most resolute supporters of this organization. I consider that support by the Soviet Union at the present time—when the UN Organization is making so many efforts aimed at achieving peace—is extremely important. The fact that Mr Gorbachev is going to come to the UN will help enormously. I know what he thinks about our organization. I know about the efforts he is making and I value highly the contribution he is making in supporting UN efforts.

[Zorin] Mr Secretary General, your report on general security was published recently. Let's be frank. Over the many years the UN has been in existence, quite a lot of good documents have been adopted but not so many of them have been of real significance and real benefit, and so I would like to ask you why you chose this particular moment for your report, and what you are expecting from it?

[Perez de Cuellar] Well, the main reason for my presenting the report at this particular moment is that I was asked to do so. I think that it was important to stress in this report that I, the secretary general, think about the UN members and the need to strengthen the UN. If I am to talk about the efforts aimed at strengthening the UN, then the Soviet Union is in the forefront. I would like to stress that although I do indeed come out in favor of strengthening the UN we certainly do not want any problem to only be resolved within the UN framework. There are problems which would best be solved with a bilateral approach. That approach is of the greatest importance. There are several problems which require resolution on a multilateral basis within the UN framework. That is why I value very highly the assistance and the support long given by the Soviet Union, particularly since my latest meeting with President Gorbachev when he immediately realized the importance of the multilateral approach. I am not setting this up in oppostion to the bilateral approach. I repeat that there are problems which require the multilateral approach and which can only be resolved in this way, or at international conferences, or in the Security Council.

[Zvyagin] Mr Secretary General, you have mentioned a number of factors which lead to the strengthening of the UN role. In this regard indeed, much is being said in the world press and in political circles about the increased role and the expansion of UN influence. How do you explain this wide-ranging process, which is building in strength?

[Perez de Cuellar] I could talk for many hours about the things that could be done to expand the UN role. I believe there are some elements which are obligatory if one is to talk about expanding this role. One is the support of the Security Council permanent members. Over the past 2 years I have managed to bring about a situation in which the Security Council and its members have worked together. Among the Security Council members there exists a united opinion about the solution of a very important international problem—I am talking about the Iran-Iraq war. At my request the Security Council members gathered to find a formula for a solution. The result was international assistance. It has been given in part, but now we have secured a cease-fire. I believe this recipe must be used to solve other problems, too.

I have already spoken about the Namibia problem, which is a very important one. There are many other elements that can help us in the joint efforts that we are undertaking—I am talking about the Security Council and the secretary general—aimed at solving problems. As I have already said, one of the important elements is the common action of the five permanent members of the Security Council. When I talk about these five permanent members I have no intention whatsoever of playing down the importance of the activity of the other members of the Security Council. I know that your country and your government believes the Security Council must act as a united, firm body.

At the same time the General Assembly is also of great importance since we are a democratic organization and the views of all members must be taken into account. But the most important things are the political will of the countries facing problems and their desire to help the secretary general, the Security Council, and the General Assembly find more just and more durable solutions for international problems. That is why we try to work together, the five permanent members of the Security Council and the other countries, with resolute support from your country under the leadership of the general secretary, and we try to put these problems forward for examination by the General Assembly.

[Zvyagin] Nevertheless, I imagine it will be quite proper for a representative of Soviet television to ask what has been the role played by Soviet diplomacy and by our country as a whole in the development of this process over the last few years and overall?

[Perez de Cuellar] Well, I must say that from the very beginning, from the moment our organization was set up, your country has played an enormous role. I was elected UN secretary general in 1982—7 years ago—and I have always relied upon your country's support. Perhaps that is explained by the fact that I am an old friend of your country, since I was my country's ambassador in the Soviet Union, but I do not think that that is the only reason. The fact is, your country is dedicated to the cause of peace, and being a country seeking peace and working

with other countries you have to work with the UN to resolve all international problems by peaceful means, by talks. Your country is playing a very, very important role.

[Zorin] Mr Secretary General, in your view, what influence can the Soviet leader's upcoming visit and meetings have on the course of events in the international arena, both on the general political level and as far as the activity of the UN is concerned?

[Perez de Cuellar] Well, I think the speech by Mr Gorbachev at the General Assembly session will inspire people; it will give a direction to their activity and their efforts, and that, I think, is the duty of great international leaders. They must inspire organizations and direct them to encourage their efforts. I am confident Mr Gorbachev will justify his role as one of the most important international leaders.

[Zorin] In conclusion, Mr Secretary General, I hope you will allow me to ask a somewhat personal question. After so many years holding the highest office in the most authoritative international organization, are you a pessimist or an optimist?

[Perez de Cuellar] I think that as UN secretary general I must be a realist, but at the same time I do not have to lose hope. As secretary general I must not give the impression of being a man without hope, a man who has lost his patience, his persistence. I think my task as secretary general amounts to bringing about a situation in which all member-countries of our organization continue to work toward achieving peace and understanding. I am not a pessimist. I am not an optimist. I feel the hope that all countries will recognize that it is their duty to make their contribution to the cause of peace.

[Zorin, in English with superimposed Russian translation] Thank you very much, Mr Secretary General. It was a very interesting and useful interview and I hope that it will not be our last interview here.

[Perez de Cuellar] I do not think it will be. Thank you. I want to say [in Russian] thank you very much. [remainder in English] That is a very good and useful expression. I spent 2 full years in your country, which was an enormous pleasure for me. I began to study the Russian language a little, but wherever I have been there have always been interpreters working from English and Spanish. You have a good knowledge of languages. When I was at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, at the Ministry of Culture, the Ministry of Trade, and other ministries everywhere an interpreter was there who spoke Spanish so I did not have the opportunity to study Russian. But I do remember a few words. It is a wonderful, musical language. [video shows Perez de Cuellar speaking with Zorin and Zvyagin in a book-lined study]

UN Supports Middle East Conference With PLO

LD0712090088 Moscow TASS in English 0840 GMT 7 Dec 88

[Text] New York December 7 TASS—By TASS correspondent Vyacheslav Chernyshev.

The U.N. General Assembly confirmed the call for holding an international peace conference on the Middle East under the U.N. aegis with the participation of the five permanent members of the Security Council and all the parties in the conflict, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. Completing the debate on the Mid-East situation on Tuesday, the General Assembly pointed out that such a conference should be vested with all powers to achieve an all-embracing and just settlement based on Israel's withdrawal from all the occupied territories and to implement inalienable rights of the Palestinian people in line with U.N. resolutions concerning the Palestine question and the situation in the Middle East.

The international community expressed a serious concern over the Israeli policy of escalation and expansion of the conflict which violates even more the principles of international law and threatens international peace and security.

The General Assembly also adopted a series of resolutions on questions of Israeli actions affecting human rights and the operation of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine refugees in the Near East (UNRWA). Actions by invaders, for instance the "mailed fist" policy and escalation of violence when quashing the year-long uprising of Palestinian people, were qualified by the international community as war crimes and an offence to mankind.

The same day the General Assembly adopted a number of resolutions on urgent problems for mankind. In its resolution on international cooperation in the use of outer space for peaceful purposes, it insistently called on all states, especially those possessing large space potentials, to contribute actively to achieving the aim of preventing the arms race in space as an indispensable condition for promoting its peaceful uses. This is necessitated by the common interest of mankind in peaceful space explorations.

Representatives of the international community hailed with profound gratitude the award of the 1988 Nobel Prize to the U.N. peace-keeping forces. They pointed out that peace-keeping operations were an indispensable component for raising the U.N.'s efficiency in maintaining international peace and security.

Delegates of the 43rd session of the General Assembly expressed concern over potentially harmful influence on the present and future generations of levels of radiation to which people are subjected. They pointed to the

importance of studying and collecting information on atomic and ionizing radiation and analysis of its influence on people and the environment.

The General Assembly proclaimed the international week of science and peace to be held annually during a week on which November 11 falls. It is called upon to show the need for deeper understanding by scholars in the world of the role of science in furthering peace, security and cooperation, social and economic development of mankind, respect for human rights and the environmental control.

The 43rd session of the General Assembly called for establishment of a new international order in the sphere of information and communication. It should be aimed at promoting peace and international mutual understanding and giving all people a chance to participate efficiently in the political, economic, social and cultural life, to contribute to the respect for human rights and development of friendship between nations. In the opinion of session delegates, all countries should render journalists assistance so that they could perform their professional duties freely and efficiently and ensure their physical immunity.

Session participants also pointed to the importance of preserving the climate as a part of humanity's common heritage.

UN Envoy Favors Conference

LD0612120288 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2329 GMT 5 Dec 88

[Excerpts] New York, 6 Dec (TASS)—The call for holding an international peace conference on the Near East under the aegis of the UN with the participation of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council and all the parties to the conflict, including the PLO, is the primary focus of the texts of three draft resolutions submitted for the examination of the UN General Assembly, which began its discussion on the Near East situation on 5 December. [passage omitted]

A.M. Belonogov, USSR's permanent UN representative, said that in this region, too, factors had emerged which promote movement towards a political settlement. On the positive side, there is the stance adopted by the Arab countries in favor of a political settlement, by convening an international conference, and the constructive, realistic approach to this issue on the part of the PLO. A very important step in this context is the decisions adopted by the extraordinary session of the Palestine National Council in Algiers. A unique opportunity has arisen today, one which it would be unforgivable to miss. The USSR, he stressed, appeals to all countries to take advantage of this opportunity and begin preparations for an international conference on the Near East.

'Review' on Talks With France, 'Arafat Visa

PM0612142988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Dec 88 Second Edition p 4

[Arkadiy Maslennikov "International Review": "The World This Week"]

[Text] Time marches on ever more rapidly. Sociologists state that we have to experience and learn in just 20-30 years what took our fathers, grandfathers, and great grandfathers 3-4 generations. Statistics show that someone born today must be ready to change his profession up to three times in his lifetime, such is the implacable demand made by the scientific and technological revolution.

The furious pace of changing events and rapid whirligig of phenomena in public life make ever-increasing demands upon one's attention. Last week alone the international press, television, and radio were full of reports and commentaries on such varied but universally stirring topics as the process of national reconciliation developing in Afghanistan with all its trials and tribulations, the formation of new governments in the United States and Pakistan, the big political scandal that has developed over the U.S. State Department's refusal to grant an entry visa to Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, and much else.

However, it would be no exaggeration to say that the international public's attention this week has been focused on questions concerned with the reform of the political system and running of the state in our country, which was examined at a CPSU Central Committee plenum and assumed the form of legislative and judicial acts at the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet which has just finished. And no wonder. The processes of restructuring under way in the Soviet Union; the ever-deepening democratization of the political, social, economic, and cultural life; and the atmosphere of glasnost which Soviet society is experiencing and operating within have markedly boosted our country's authority in the world arena. By general admission, they have become important factors in improving East-West relations and the international situation as a whole. It is natural that the democratic norms of a law-governed state enshrined in the decisions taken by the Soviet Union's supreme legislative body and the strengthening of people's power at various levels of state government are increasing trust in our country still further and helping toward the victory of the principles of new thinking advanced by the Soviet Union in the international arena.

Rendering the "Common European Home" Habitable

The creation of a situation conducive to building a durable structure of international peace and trust is the Soviet Union restructuring's real contribution to world

politics. But it does not and cannot replace the construction work itself. This requires concrete action and joint efforts by all members of the world community.

Movement in this direction has been most manifest of late in the European theater of world politics. French President Francois Mitterrand's visit to the Soviet Union was a notable landmark here.

The discussion in Moscow paid special attention to the situation on our continent, to the plan to build a "common European home" advanced by M.S. Gorbachev. The French president rated this plan highly, calling it a great idea. Personally, F. Mitterrand said, I consider the execution of this idea a priority. Ultimately the cultural and spiritual community of Europe is a reality which can and must be translated into policy.

For his part, M.S. Gorbachev explained that the building of a "common European home" is regarded in the Soviet Union as a continuation and development of the Helsinki process. Responding to charges that the idea of a "common European home" is aimed at "decoupling" Europe from America, the Soviet leader stressed that the new, more constructive relations among states generated as the Helsinki process develops are of benefit to all and their consolidation must become a common concern of Europeans and the United States and Canada.

The Moscow meetings discussed not just general concepts, but also questions concerned with providing the "common European home" plan with specific content. Here stress was laid on the urgency of all inhabitants of our continent collaborating in the sphere of environmental protection, the development and introduction of new sophisticated technologies, the field of medicine and biology, and the creation of new television and video systems.

During the French president's stay on Soviet soil the ideas of such cooperation were given specific, visible embodiment—a joint Soviet-French crew blasted off on a long-duration flight aboard the Mir orbital space complex. This second flight by cosmonauts of the two countries is a graphic example of the expanding cooperation between the USSR and France in one of the most advanced and most important spheres of science and technology for mankind—the peaceful exploration of outer space.

Speaking about the desirability of further increasing Soviet-French trade and economic cooperation, including French companies setting up joint enterprises in the USSR, the head of the French state again urged his compatriots during a radio interview this week to pay more attention to the achievements of Soviet scientists and engineers. The USSR has achieved major technological successes in many spheres, he said, which I was able to see for myself when I visited the Baykonur Space Center.

"Our reality has long outstripped the boldest ideas of the French science fiction writer, Jules Verne," writes the West German newspaper NEUE RUHR ZEITUNG in this regard. "The French cosmonaut aboard the Soviet orbital station will circle the earth for 26 days. This is symbolic of the scientific and technical cooperation between the USSR and France and between West European countries and the Soviet Union." "The agreement to hold regular summit meetings reached by M.S. Gorbachev and F. Mitterrand is no less than a concrete embodiment of the idea of a 'common European home'.... F. Mitterrand's Ostpolitik makes the task of dispelling all Washington's doubts easier. And if Bonn and Paris think along the same lines regarding Ostpolitik this will undoubtedly have a beneficial effect on the whole of Europe."

The West German newspaper is undoubtedly right when it talks about the positive influence exerted by the Soviet Union's cooperation with the countries in the western part of the continent in improving the all-European political climate. However, as far as "Washington's doubts" are concerned, dispelling them is not proving so simple.

The negative attitude of certain Washington figures to the concept of pan-European cooperation was most blatantly demonstrated this week by U.S. Secretary of Defense Frank Carlucci. Addressing an international symposium in the American capital on 28 November devoted to the upcoming 40th anniversary of NATO, the Pentagon chief again sought to intimidate his West European allies with the nonexistent "Soviet threat," urging them to continue the arms race and not succumb to the "Kremlin's blandishments regarding arms reduction." Colin Powell, national security assistant to the President, also urged those at the symposium to view the idea of building a "common European home" with mistrust.

In other words, the idea of a common European home today not only has convinced supporters but influential opponents. At the EC Council session held in Greece 2-3 December, just as at the annual sessions of NATO bloc leading organs which have opened in Brussels, renewed calls to "strengthen Atlantic solidarity," "not to believe Moscow's promises," and so forth were to be heard alongside statements about the desirability of normalizing East-West relations.

You get the impression that some Western figures, including those on the other side of the Atlantic, conscious of the growing attractiveness of the concept of a "common European home," would like to brick up all its windows and doors, leaving only firing slits.

The theory of an "iron curtain" was once advanced in the West, serving as a very convenient cover for building up the arms race. In modern conditions, when the ideas associated with this "curtain" are disappearing into

history and when glasnost, openness, and ever-expanding mutual exchanges are becoming the norms in relations among all European countries, the advocates of strong-arm methods in international relations are desperately clutching at decrepit political dogmas, trying to supply at least the appearance of "theoretical" validation for these obsolescent confrontational approaches.

These approaches are all the more inappropriate today when dialogue between the East and West, including that between the USSR and the United States, is being developed with increasing vigor and the agenda features new summit meetings designed to advance Soviet-American relations and impart extra dynamism to disarmament talks and the process of improving the situation throughout the world.

Against the Tide

The State Department's refusal to permit Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, to visit the United States is a typical example of such an approach. The Palestinian leader was invited to New York to address the UN General Assembly 43d Session there.

As is well-known, the recent session of the Palestine National Council proclaimed an independent Palestinian state and adopted a number of other decisions indicating Palestinian readiness to seek a peaceful political settlement of the Near East problem. It was this that determined the widespread interest among representatives of the world community in the PLO leader's projected speech.

Given this, Washington's refusal to issue an entry visa to Y. 'Arafat had the impact of an exploding bomb. Protests poured in from all sides against this highhanded action, which is a gross breach of the agreements signed between this universal international organization and the United States when the United Nations was created.

Washington was virtually completely isolated. Even America's closest allies either outrightly condemned or in some way or another distanced themselves from the Reagan administration's actions. French Foreign Minister Dumas called the U.S. refusal to permit the PLO leader entry to the country a political mistake. This step was evaluated in roughly the same way in Rome, where the American charge d'affaires was called to the Italian Foreign Office to furnish an explanation. By its decision to ban Palestinian leader Yasir 'Arafat from New York, Britain's THE GUARDIAN wrote, the United States "has damaged itself," calling the "country's political maturity" into doubt.

This gross anti-Palestinian action by Washington whipped up a storm of indignation in the capitals of Arab states. Even moderate Arab figures traditionally close to the United States have expressed their indignation at this act inimical to the cause of a just settlement in the Near East. King Husayn of Jordan, for example, has stated that the Washington administration's actions are aimed at "muffling the Palestinian call for peace and justice." "Washington's decision," an official statement issued by the Algerian Foreign Ministry says, "is at variance with efforts aimed at settling the Palestinian problem and the Near East crisis as a whole."

At the United Nations itself representatives of Arab countries warned that if the U.S. Government did not rescind its unjust decision they would be seeking to get discussion of the Palestinian problem shifted from New York to Geneva. At their proposal this question was voted on. A decision to discuss the question of Palestine in the Swiss capital 13 through 15 December was adopted by 154 votes, with 2 against (the United States and Israel), and 1 abstention (Britain).

The 'Arafat visa incident has caused marked friction even in the ruling circles of the United States itself. The carefully organized show of "public unity" currently being engaged in by representatives of the outgoing and incoming administrations is unable to hide the obvious fact that Reagan and his entourage are leaving their successors a heavy political legacy. Analyzing the likely consequences of the visa incident for the Palestinian leader, the American press writes that the present Washington administration is leaving Bush "a time bomb," which is going to tie his hands for a long time in the matter of a Near East settlement. In the opinion of diplomats and observers, THE WASHINGTON POST notes in this regard, the U.S. Government's actions conceal an attempt by the Reagan administration to make the new American administration a hostage to the Reagan White House's pro-Israeli course.

However, whatever domestic political calculations have guided the present American rulers' actions, they have placed themselves internationally in a highly unenviable position or, as Americans say in such situations, they have shot themselves in the foot. In major league politics attempts to swim aginst the tide always end in embarrassment if not a crisis for those responsible.

Nicaraguan UN Envoy Denounces U.S. Visa Denial

LD0712095588 Moscow TASS in English 0746 GMT 7 Dec 88

[Text] New York December 7 TASS—A meeting of the U.N. committee on relations with the host country was held here on Tuesday [6 December]. It discussed the issue on actions by the U.S. authorities which had prevented Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega from coming to New York to participate in the 43rd session of the U.N. General Assembly. Speaking at the meeting, Alejandro Serrano Caldera, permanent representative of this country to the U.N., noted that the USA again created conditions making the Nicaraguan president's arrival in New York impossible, since it denied visas to

14 members of his delegation. Similar actions had been also taken in September when a considerable number of members from the Nicaraguan delegation had not received visas either.

Zagladin Addresses East-West Meeting in Paris

LD0212231488 Moscow TASS in English 2158 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Text] Paris December 3 TASS—The 8th international conference of political and public figures and journalists of East and West opened here on Friday.

It is being held on the initiative of the Allerdinck Foundation, an international organization which was founded in 1984 and which regularly holds such meetings the aim of which is to promote the development of East-West dialogue and the establishment of mutual understanding between the peoples of countries with different social systems.

The current conference the subject of which is a new future for East and West is being attended by representatives of eleven countries, including Hungary, the Netherlands, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, the United States, and the Soviet Union.

Speakers during the discussion which developed on the first day of the conference were, in particular, Jean Francois-Poncet, former French minister of foreign affairs, Pierre Salinger, a prominent U.S. journalist, and Arthur Hartman, former ambassador of the United States to the USSR.

Vadim Zagladin, representative of the Soviet Union, secretary of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Council of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet (Parliament), emphasized in his speech that for the first time in mankind's history the world was facing a common problem, that of survival.

"Every country's security cannot be ensured only by means of military force. The Soviet Union's opinion is that a dialogue with due regard for the interests of all countries is the only method for solving all contentious issues".

Comments on Forum

PM0512120988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 1

[Own unnamed correspondent dispatch "Europe: Living Under the Same Roof"]

[Text] Paris—The processes of restructuring and democratization in the Soviet Union, their influence on the international climate, and prospects of East-West relations in the political and economic sphere—these were the questions discussed at an international meeting of prominent political and public figures organized in Paris by the Allerdinck Foundation.

Your correspondent asked a number of its participants to share their impressions. This is what they said:

V.V. Zagladin, head of the Soviet delegation and secretary of the Foreign Affairs Commission of Council of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet: "The aim of the meeting, which was devoted to the future of East-West relations, was to deepen the understanding of the problems which divide our countries, to find a common denominator for their solution, and to increase trust. I would like to say that the debates were of a constructive rather than confrontational nature. The participants leveled no accusations or complaints against each other. The main question which kept arising was: Is it possible for two different systems to live under one roof in Europe? And, despite the different approaches, we believe that coexistence and cooperation are possible. We share the legacy of "cold war"—the long period of alienation—which we must jointly seek to overcome. Our discussions are helping us to conduct a joint quest for a new future; we have no other option."

EEC Leaders' Meeting in Rhodes Concludes

PM0712110988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Special correspondent A. Nikolayev dispatch: "Halfway to the Goal"]

[Excerpts] Rhodes—The program of the Rhodes meeting of heads of state and government of the EEC countries has ended. [passage omitted]

Answering questions by an IZVESTIYA correspondent, Lord Plumb, chairman of the European Parliament, who took part in the Rhodes meeting, called the recent establishment of official relations between the EEC and CEMA "a major breakthrough." It is not surprising that one-third of the Rhodes declaration was devoted to East-West relations. It confirms the "Common Market's" willingness to develop both economic and political dialogue with the CEMA member countries. Not without reservations, it is true. First, "taking into consideration the specifics of each country's situation." Second, the EEC's intention to act toward "overcoming the division of Europe" in the context of the declaration is put in the same category with "the promotion of Western values and principles common to the Community countries."

The vagueness of these formulas, perhaps, is somewhat compensated in that part of the declaration where the EEC charts as specific aims the successful continuation of the Helsinki process, including the Vienna talks; the establishment of a safe and stable balance of conventional weapons and armed forces in Europe at a lower level; the strengthening of mutual trust in the military sphere; and also the conclusion of a global and verifiable agreement banning chemical weapons. Meanwhile, not a word is said on the key question of West Europe's "nuclear rearmament." When I asked the British prime

minister about West European military cooperation, M. Thatcher stated that West Europe must be ready to bear its fair share of the burden within the NATO framework and her country is setting an example in this.

So, contradictions in the EEC's foreign policy, as well as within the EEC, are being overcome. And quite successfully. For West European integration is an objective process. The building of a common European home is also an objective necessity of our time requiring not only awareness, but also goodwill and the desire to understand the partner's laws and interests. It is hoped that Rhodes will be an outstanding landmark in mutual progress toward this goal.

NATO Headquarters Discussions Reviewed

PM0612094188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Dec 88 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent Yu. Kharlanov dispatch: "Atlantic Week"]

[Text] Brussels, 2 Dec—The traditional NATO week is being held at North Atlantic bloc headquarters. The first major event within its framework was the latest session of the NATO Planning Committee at defense minister level, which ended today.

The session's attention focused mainly on the question of "redistributing the military and financial burden" within the NATO framework, something on which the United States insists, demanding of its European allies that they increase their military expenditure. The ministers approved a voluminous report, prepared by a special group of experts, which evaluates the contribution made by individual states within the bloc to "the West's defense."

Speaking at a press conference, U.S. Secretary of Defense F. Carlucci drew serious attention to this report, interpreting it as proof of the need to galvanize efforts by NATO's West European members in the military sphere. He declared that, despite opposition by the U.S. Congress, the U.S. Administration intends to increase its expenditure for military purposes during the next fiscal year and that this ought to set an example for the allies.

The communique adopted by the Military Planning Committee affirms NATO's intention to develop the military programs planned for the period through 1992. It contains the usual propaganda claims about the Warsaw Pact Organization's "superiority" in the sphere of conventional arms.

Reducing NATO Maneuvers in FRG Discussed

LD0312032588 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Viktor Levin commentary]

[Text] In Brussels today, the NATO defense ministers committee ended its work. Special attention was given to the distribution of the burden of military spending among NATO countries. The United States is trying to get its NATO partners to increase their contributions so as to reduce its own. The Europeans, however—as can be understood from the reports that have come in—are stubbornly resisting this. This is nothing new. It is by no means the 1st year of this argument. The question of reducing the number of military maneuvers on FRG territory was raised for the first time. So, what is the FRG trying to achieve, and why? I asked my colleague Viktor Levin to answer this question.

[Begin Levin recording] This question has indeed been raised for the first time, and I would say even more: It was impossible to imagine previously that this question could be raised.

What is involved here is no more, no less, halving the number of military maneuvers outside the special grounds for troop exercises in which over 2,000 military servicemen take part.

The FRG Defense Ministry's development of these plans is, of course, occasioned by the recent catastrophe in Ramstein where three Italian fighters collided during a complex aerobatics maneuver during a NATO demonstration flight. The explosion killed not only the pilots, but also more than 50 observers. About 350 spectators were seriously injured.

The Ramstein catastrophe aroused, quite naturally, a stormy public reaction. The question was at once raised about the need to stop such flights. Now Defense Minister Scholtz is also talking about reducing land-based exercises.

As DPA has reported, the British delegation at the NATO defense ministers session understand the West German position. The Americans have stated their desire to find a mutually acceptable decision. Since the United States and Britain have more troops stationed on FRG territory than other countries, without taking the Bundeswehr into account, one can speak about the coincidence of their positions. Despite the dramatic nature of the Ramstein catastrophe, I think that in different international circumstances the FRG would hardly have opted for such cardinal measures. Surely, the reduction of the number of military exercises can be appraised as a step toward reducing the level of military training activity. This measure would hardly be possible—one can even put this stronger—it would be simply impossible if the sky had not opened up over our continent. Incidentally, not long before the NATO defense ministers' committee session, van Friedrich Ebert, who is close to the Social Democratic Party of Germany organized a meeting between experts of the SPD in the field of military problems and officers of the Soviet and West German Armed Forces.

Our delegation was headed by General Gareyev, General Staff deputy chief. As becomes clear from the reports of the West German press about this meeting, the representatives of the armed forces of the two forces held a serious conversation about their military doctrines and gave frank answers to each other's pointed questions.

Such a meeting was held for the first time. This, too, reflects signs of the times. [end recording]

NATO Said To Seek Control in Indian Ocean

LD0512135688 Moscow TASS in English 1314 GMT 5 Dec 88

[Text] Antananarivo December 5 TASS—A recent U.S. Air Force exercise in Diego Garcia island and training flights by French warplanes to Reunion from a base in Djibouti attest to western attempts to maintain tension in the Indian Ocean, a Malagasy newspaper has noted.

IMONGO VAOVAO said that NATO countries were showing a desire to retain and strengthen their strategic bases in the region and control international shipping lanes and oil production sites.

This position of imperialist nations explained why the 1971 U.N. declaration designating the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace had not been carried out to this day, the paper continued.

It was indicative, it said, that the latest flurry of U.S. and French militarist activity had followed a Soviet-Indian summit statement.

The two countries declared in that document that they are for dismantling all the foreign military bases in the region and against attempts to increase foreign military interference.

IMONGO VAOVAO said that an adequate western response would help implement the idea of convening not later than in 1990 an international conference on making the Indian Ocean a zone of peace.

The paper added that a constructive western response was not yet in evidence. It said that settling the situation in the Indian Ocean would provide the key to defusing many regional conflicts.

It said the countries of the region should press the West to make similarly reasonable initiatives, pointing, by way of an example, to the Soviet proposals made by Mikhail Gorbachev in Krasnoyarsk.

Law of Sea Symposium Backs 1982 Convention

PM0612112188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Dec 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "To Preserve the Ocean for Future Generations"]

[Text] The first Soviet-U.S. symposium on the International Law of the Sea ended in Moscow 2 December. Prof A.L. Kolodkin, chairman of the Soviet Association for the Law of the Sea, which organized this meeting jointly with the Soviet Peace Foundation and a number of U.S. organizations, described the results of the symposium:

"The main result is the participants' sincere belief that law and order in the world ocean must be based on the all-embracing 1982 UN Convention on the Law of the Sea. The symposium—which was attended not only by Soviet and U.S. scientists but also by their colleagues from Britain, Canada, the FRG, Indonesia, Bulgaria, Poland, the GDR, and New Zealand—demonstrated their common desire to ensure that this document is universally acceptable to all states. Foreign participants welcomed with understanding our statements linked to M.S. Gorbachev's initiatives which are aimed at ensuring peace and security on the seas and oceans."

Soviet Motorship Rescued in North Sea

LD0612172888 Moscow TASS in English 1628 GMT 6 Dec 88

[Text] Riga December 6 TASS—An operation to rescue a Soviet motorship which has run into trouble in the North Sea is over, the Latvian Shipping Company was advised by radio on Tuesday.

The Theodore Nette was on route from France to the Soviet Baltic port of Klaipeda when its engine went out of order during a storm. The crew failed to repair it on their own.

Winds, in the meantime, gathered gale-force strength and the helpless ship began drifting to shoals.

The tanker Petr Stuchka, proceeding from Klaipeda to Antwerp in Belgium, changed course immediately and was the first to come to help.

Attempts to take the Nette in tow, however, failed because of lashing winds and huge waves rolling across the deck of the ship in distress.

The tanker remained nearby throughout the night, ready at any moment to take the Nette crew on board.

A powerful polar ice-breaker, the Dikson, was in the North Sea and reached the site as well this morning. It was able to take the Nette in tow and began hauling it to the nearest port, while the tanker went on to Antwerp.

International Physicians Appeal to Gorbachev, Bush
LD0612133988 Moscow TASS in English 1322 GMT 6 Dec 88

[Text] New York December 6 TASS—The International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War has issued a call to the Soviet and U.S. leaders asking them to break the veil of secrecy, which shrouds the baneful impact of nuclear weapons production on people's health. The organisation has decided to create an independent commission for the objective analysis of the threat which nuclear weapons production poses to man's health.

The text of the message calling on Mikhail Gorbachev and U.S. President-elect George Bush to support the efforts was distributed at a news conference held in Cambridge, Massachusetts.

The decision of the international movement to conduct an independent inquiry into the problems stemming from nuclear weapons production, was prompted by a spate of revelations which showed that safety rules were crudely violated at U.S. munitions factories. However, similar problems can exist in other countries, including the Soviet Union, Michael Kuzin, co-chairman of the movement and member of the Presidium of the Academy of Medical Sciences of the USSR, said in a statement at the news conference.

Prominent U.S cardiologist and public figure Bernard Lown, who is co-chairman of the movement, stressed that that task, although difficult, should be acomplished. Even before bombs are dropped, nuclear weapons threaten people's health and the environment, he said. People should be aware of the danger which faces them. The duty of the government is to inform the world public.

Kenjiro Yokoro, a Hiroshima University professor, told the news conference that the Japanese people felt on themselves what happens when the bomb explodes. However, production of nuclear weapons leads to new victims every day.

The International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War groups around 200,000 medics from 61 countries. In 1985 it was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

WFDY Executive Committee Session Ends in Kiev
LD0212162888 Moscow TASS in English 1534 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Text] Kiev December 2 TASS—The session of the Executive Committee of the World Federation of Democatic Youth (WFDY) came to a close here today.

For four days the delegates of the youth organizations from more than 70 countries discussed topical issues concerning peace and disarmament, anti-imperialist solidarity, international cooperation, young people's rights, and the problems of ecology, sports and culture.

They also considered a programme of activities of the 13th world festival of youth and students which is to be held in Pyongyang next year. Much attention was given to ways to solve regional problems. The participants in the meeting mapped out a programme of action for 1989, and admitted seven new members to the WFDY.

"This session was notable for its specific nature, efficiency and striving to renew the federation's structure, forms and methods of its work. We are grateful, first of all, to the Soviet komsomol (Young Communist League) for the creation of such an atmosphere", Gyorgy Szabo, WFDY secretary-general, told a TASS correspondent.

He pointed out that a special working group representing 17 organizations from all regions of the world was set up at the session. The group will thoroughly study all aspects of reorganization and will hold discussions in various countries of the new tasks and forms of the WFDY activities and will report its conclusions at the next meeting of the executive committee. One thing is clear now: It is essential to introduce democratic mechanisms to the WFDY activities to enhance the role and responsibility of the WFDY Assembly and the Executive Committee.

United States & Canada

Further Reportage on Gorbachev Visit to New York

Comparison of Gorbachev Departure

Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1000 GMT on 6 December carries a report on CPSU General Secretary Gorbachev's departure from Moscow for his visit to New York, which is identical to the TASS report published on page nine, column one of the 6 December DAILY REPORT, with the following exception:

paragraph three, last sentence, to paragraph four, first sentence, the Moscow radio report reads: ...Council of Ministers.

At the airport, Comrade Gorbachev was seen off by Comrades Vorotnikov, Zaykov, Ligachev, Nikonov, Ryzhkov, Slyunkov, and Chebrikov, members of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo; Comrades Biryukova, Vlasov, Lukyanov, Razumovskiy, Talyzin, and Yazov, candidate members of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo; and other comrades. Among those seeing him off were Camacho, the Cuban ambassador to the USSR; Braithwaite, the British ambassador to the USSR; and Smith, the U.S. charge d'affaires in the USSR.... (supplying additional paragraph)

PRAVDA Details Arrival

PM0712105588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Dec 88 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report under general heading "M.S. Gorbachev Leaves for New York"]

[Text] M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, arrived in New York 6 December. M.S. Gorbachev, his wife, and accompanying officials were met at John Kennedy Airport by Ambassador 'Ali Teymour [name as transliterated], UN assistant secretary general and chief of the UN protocol and relations department; J. Matlock, U.S. ambassador to the USSR; V. Walters, U.S. permanent representative at the United Nations; and Selwa Roosevelt, chief of protocol at the U.S. State Department. Taking part in the meeting on the Soviet side were A.A. Bessmertnykh, USSR first deputy foreign minister; V.F. Petrovskiy, USSR deputy foreign minister; Yu.V. Dubinin, USSR ambassador to the United States; A.M. Belonogov, USSR permanent representative at the United Nations; V.A. Kravets, Ukrainian SSR foreign minister; A.Ye. Gurinovich, Belorussian SSR foreign minister; and other officials.

M.S. Gorbachev issued a statement at the airport to Soviet and foreign journalists:

Above all, I would like on behalf of the Soviet people to convey greetings to the United Nations Organization and to express my feelings of profound respect for the American people and New Yorkers.

The portentous changes taking place in the world open up new opportunities for the United Nations' exceptionally responsible activity for the good of the peoples. In our speech at the General Assembly session we will advocate giving a new boost to placing the foundations of peace and security on a genuinely comprehensive footing. I consider the United Nations to be the most suitable venue for this. And that is why we are here.

We await with great interest this fifth summit to be held during our stay in New York with President R. Reagan and G. Bush, who is to replace him in this high office. This summit reaffirms the activeness of the Soviet-U.S. dialogue, which, we are sure, will continue to develop constructively in the interests of the peoples of our two countries and the entire world.

We will also meet with UN Secretary General J. Perez de Cuellar and D. Caputo, president of the 43d UN General Assembly session and Argentine foreign minister. We hope that these meetings will serve to strengthen our collaboration with the United Nations.

I am sure that my other meetings here in New York will promote the development of mutual understanding between the USSR and the United States and cooperation and friendship among all the peoples.

I would like to wish the American people and New Yorkers peace and prosperity.

Gorbachev Arrival Statement

LD0612220688 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2035 GMT 6 Dec 88

[Arrival statement by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and president of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, at JFK Airport on 6 December—recorded in Russian with passage-by-passage translation into English; broadcast on the "World Today" program, presented by Aleksandr Zholkver]

[Text] First, on behalf of the Soviet people, I want to convey words of greeting to the UN Organization, and to express feelings of deep respect to the American people and to the inhabitants of New York.

The program of my stay and that of the delegation has taken shape, has basically taken shape. It seems to me that it is an interesting program, packed...[pauses]...and I am satisfied with it.

There will be meetings and conversations with the UN general secretary, Mr Peres de Cuellar, and with the chairman of the current session, Mr Caputo. We hope that these meetings will be useful. The Soviet Union intends to further extend its cooperation within the framework of the UN Organization with all states, and with the leadership of the United Nations.

Tomorrow I intend to meet...[changes thought]...to speak in the United Nations Organization. We have things to say to this important forum of the world community. We live in a world which is undergoing a very important stage in its development. We have many common concerns and anxieties. Everyone is thinking, studying, and analyzing the situation in the world, reflecting...[pauses]...and we will share these reflections tomorrow with the world community.

We will hold a meeting with the U.S. President, Mr Ronald Reagan, and with his successor in that post, Mr George Bush. We have also agreed on that. It is with great pleasure that I am going to that meeting. I think that the very fact that such a meeting is taking place says a lot, and in the first place it shows the active nature of the Soviet-U.S. political dialogue and the continuity in this dialogue.

This time the agenda has not been agreed upon, and this gives us the opportunity to discuss calmly, and in a free and open way, all the questions which we consider necessary.

I think one can say in advance that the conversations and this meeting will undoubtedly promote an increase in the dynamism of our dialogue and an expansion in the cooperation between our countries. I hope...[pauses]...it is our understanding and hope that the U.S. side also understands that it is in the interests of the United States, the USSR, and the other peoples.

Within the framework of the agenda of our stay in New York, we will hold other meetings with representatives of U.S. public and political circles, and with representatives of other countries. I think these days will be useful and fruitful, and we are ready, on our part, to make a contribution to ensure that they are.

Thank you. [applause]

Further on Arrival

LD0612203488 Moscow TASS in English 2020 GMT 6 Dec 88

[Text] New York December 6 TASS—Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev arrived here on Tuesday afternoon.

Gorbachev, who is general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the national legislature, flew to the local John Kennedy Airport on board an Ilyushin-62 plane.

Upon his arrival in New York Gorbachev made a statement.

He was accompanied by Eduard Shevardnadze, a member of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and foreign minister of the USSR, Aleksandr Yakovlev, a member of the Politburo and a secretary of the party Central Committee, and Soviet deputy head of government Vladimir Kamentsev.

Gorbachev and the accompanying officials were welcomed at the airliner's stairway by Ambassador 'Ali Teymour [name as received], an aide to the United Nations secretary- general who is chief of tthe U.N. protocol section, and Selwa Roosevelt, chief of the protocol section at the U.S. State Department.

The Soviet officials welcoming Gorbachev included, among others, First Deputy Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy, permanent representative to the United Nations Aleksandr Belonogov and Ambassador to the United States Yuriy Dubinin.

NY Prepares for Gorbachev

LD0612204088 Moscow TASS in English 2004 GMT 6 Dec 88

[Text] New York December 6 TASS—By TASS correspondents Igor Ignatyev and Nikolay Turkatenko:

Hundreds of reporters have descended on New York from Moscow, Washington, Tokyo, Sydney and a great many other capitals and major cities all over the world.

Apart from the impressive press corps permanently posted to the United Nations Headquarters, more than 1,000 newsmen have been accredited especially to cover Mikhail Gorbachev's visit here, these correspondents were told by an official spokesman for the U.N. secretary-general. The Soviet leader is to address the United Nations General Assembly Wednesday morning.

The bigger U.S. provincial television networks as well as the leading trio of ABC, NBC and CBS have deployed camera crews on strategic locations along the expected route of the procession of cars in which Gorbachev, U.S. President Ronald Reagan and Vice-President George Bush, who will take on presidential duties next January, will travel through this sprawling conurbation.

The Soviet and American leaders are to hold talks on Governor's Island in New York Harbor on a number of key aspects of arms control and on the Soviet-U.S. relationship in general, and media pools are being formed to cover that meeting.

Television news shows this morning began with reports on Gorbachev's departure from Moscow to New York and with commentary on Soviet-American relations and new prospects which are expected here to be opened by the forthcoming meeting.

Common Americans are following preparations for the meeting with exceptional attention.

Judy and Steve Bowdy, who came to this busy city from the farthest state of Washington, said they hoped the meeting would lay stronger groundwork for broadening cooperation between the two countries in the name of solving problems that were vital not only to the United States and the Soviet Union but to humanity in general.

New Yorkers are enthusiastically hailing the Soviet leader's arrival and even prepared to put up with inevitable traffic jams. Police and security services have already announced that whole parts of downtown New York will be closed to motorists.

Christopher Graves, a 30-year-old local resident, commented, however, that that was not too high a price for being able to assist the development of relations between the two countries—and not just cooperation but friendship.

Municipal worker Noreen Domanico from Queens Borough agreed, dismissing the temporary inconveniences as not worth talking about compared with the need to help improve the U.S.-Soviet relationship in every way.

These views are shared by the vast majority of Americans—more than 85 percent of them, according to latest public opinion polls.

Even against this background, however, voices can clearly be heard that are "warning" the nation against showing "groundless and even dangerous optimism" about the Soviet Union and urging continued "positions of strength" policies.

Such calls have been made, for example, by former U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, former Assistant Defense Secretary Richard Perle and political scientist and "hawk" Marshall Goldman.

Analyzing their position, well-known columnist Joseph Harsch said in the CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR today that Gorbachev's arrival in New York caused habitual nervousness among those who had their own reasons to condemn, regret or even fear a relaxation of East-West tension, especially those involved in the development and manufacture of ever further costly weapons systems.

The plane carrying Gorbachev and officials accompanying him is about to touch down in John Kennedy Airport. New Yorkers have made sure that when the Soviet leader alights from the Ilyushin-62, the first thing he'll see will be a streamer saying "Welcome to New York".

Scene Set for Arrival

PM0612164588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Dec 88 First Edition pp 1, 4

[Dispatch by special correspondents G. Vasilyev, V. Linnik, and V. Sukhoy: "New York on the Eve"]

[Excerpts] New York, 6 Dec—Signs of the approaching Christmas and New Year are more and more clearly visible in the life of this vast city which is always in a hurry: immaculately wrapped Christmas trees on the sidewalk around a store, glittering snowflakes against the brilliantly lit Fifth Avenue store windows, a swelling flood of passers-by. This is a time when thoughts traditionally turn to peace and brotherhood among people, to mutual understanding and compassion.

New York's seasonal mood, typical for December, has been invested now with a new topic which is surprisingly in harmony with it—the arrival here of the leader of the CPSU and the Soviet state to address a plenary session of the UN General Assembly and meet R. Reagan, the outgoing U.S. President, and G. Bush, who is taking over the job. M.S. Gorbachev's arrival is awaited with keen interest. You can see this when leafing through the newspapers and magazines, which are carrying copious material devoted to the Soviet Union and to Soviet-U.S. relations, when meeting local journalists, and when talking with Americans of your acquaintance. The overwhelming opinion is that Gorbachev is bringing to the United States interesting proposals on boosting the effectiveness of the United Nations, on the demilitarization and humanization of world politics, and on the introduction of the principles of new political thinking into international life. [passage omitted]

The journalists besieging the United Nations tend to congregate in conference hall No. 4, where several press conferences are being given every day by eminent Soviet scientists, diplomats, and cultural figures. Our representatives are asked: What proposals does M.S. Gorbachev intend to put forward in his speech; what will be discussed at the meeting with R. Reagan and G. Bush? The range of questions is broad enough—from Soviet-U.S. relations to the prospects for settlement of regional conflicts, from disarmament problems to human rights questions.

But what do the questioners themselves, the U.S. journalists, think about all this?

D. Shannon, LOS ANGELES TIMES correspondent: Americans are now showing vast interest in all the changes taking place in the Soviet Union. The way I see

it, M.S. Gorbachev heads not only the Soviet state but also the process of change unfolding in your country. This is why there is so much interest in the Soviet leader's visit to New York. My newspaper's readers expect your leader to bring new ideas which he will announce from the UN podium.

D. Oberdorfer, WASHINGTON POST: Our newspaper attaches great importance to M.S. Gorbachev's UN visit because, we believe, he will make important statements here. As regards his meeting with R. Reagan and G. Bush, I believe that its main topic will be the continuity in relations between the two countries' leaders. A certain hesitation always develops during a changeover between administrations in Washington, because new people are joining the leadership. They need time to look at things. I hope that this time—and the meeting ought to help this—the hesitation will be briefer and relations will develop successfully.

At the UN foreign correspondents' center we had an opportunity to talk with V. Walters, U.S. permanent representative at the United Nations.

I believe, he said, that the UN visit by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, is very useful. We know that the Soviet Union is raising the idea of enhancing the UN role as a fundamental foreign policy principle. We welcome this.

[Correspondent] "Do you think that, as a result of improved Soviet-U.S. relations, the United Nations will succeed in playing a more important role in the future?"

"I hope so," Walters said in Russian.

The broad interest in the visit does not indicate universal jubilation that the Soviet leader is coming. There are figures in the United States who are not happy about the improvement in the international situation and the further development of Soviet-U.S. dialogue. Among them is former General A. Haig, the same man who, when U.S. secretary of state, won fame for the statement: "There are things more important than peace." In an article published by THE NEW YORK TIMES, A. Haig urges G. Bush not to enter into any "premature accords" with M.S. Gorbachev on curbing the arms race. In the general's opinion such accords are only in the Soviet Union's interests, whereas the United States, apparently, has "another agenda" which differs greatly from Moscow's. A. Haig obviously holds yesterday's positions, believing that one side's success means the other side's defeat and that the security of one's own country can be built at the expense of the opponent's security. [passage omitted]

IZVESTIYA Previews Visit

PM0612162688 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Dec 88 Morning Edition pp 1, 8

[Our correspondents A. Blinov, A. Shalnev report: "Anticipation and Predictions"]

[Text] New York—It is only a matter of hours until an event occurs that is attracting truly universal attention. Journalists were given to understand at a press conference that M.S. Gorbachev will arrive for the UN General Assembly session and a meeting with the present American President R. Reagan and U.S. President-elect G. Bush not empty-handed, but with substantial proposals and ideas.

What proposals? This question is now being put to everyone who, in the opinion of journalists and experts, might be "in the know." Various answers are given, but they all have the same meaning: Wait a little, all will become clear on 7 December.

Few people are satisfied with that answer. Speculation begins. William Hyland, chief editor of the highly authoritative foreign policy journal FOREIGN AFFAIRS, thinks the Soviet leader will put forward "a major peace program." Approximately the same is said by Zbigniew Brzezinski, national security adviser to a former president and adviser to G. Bush when the latter was a presidential candidate. Otherwise, he says, there would really be no point in M. Gorbachev coming to New York.

Daniel Yankelovich does not go in for speculation. He is accustomed to dealing with concrete information, with facts, not assumptions. Yankelovich is head of a large firm specializing in public opinion polls. A poll he organized comparatively recently was devoted almost entirely to the problems of Soviet-American relations and their present state and prospects. We talked with Yankelovich. He compares polls in past years with this latest one, and this is his conclusion:

"Earlier, say a couple of years ago, Americans were arguing about whether to support M. Gorbachev or not. These arguments have evidently died down. It has become clear to very many people—and not only moderates and liberals, but even conservatives—that the reforms being carried out in your country meet the interests of the world in general and the United States in particular. If they argue now, it is over whether or not your leader will succeed in completing these reforms. My personal view: In the political sphere there have been successes, in the sphere of economic reform there are still many problems."

Talking about our difficulties at home, Yankelovich shared an interesting observation. Remember the first years of Franklin Delano Roosevelt's rule, he said. Remember how he had to disentangle a vast range of problems that his predecessors had accumulated and left

him as a legacy. Remember what resistance he encountered to his reforms, with what difficulty they were implemented. And remember, finally, that he lost political battles too. And there was nothing surprising about any of that: New ideas always have to overcome enormous difficulties. It seems to me, Yankelovich stressed, that there is a parallel, a similarity between Roosevelt and Gorbachev.

General Vernon Walters, U.S. permanent representative to the United Nations, had some interesting things to say. At a briefing held for foreign journalists on Monday, he was asked whether he regards M. Gorbachev's forthcoming trip to the United States, Cuba, and Britain and the Soviet leader's active meetings with leaders of many other countries as something in the nature of a Kremlin "propaganda campaign." Walters does not think so. "The face of the Soviet Union is far more attractive now than it was before."

The general was asked to assess the new trends in Soviet policy with regard to the United Nations, trends which were described as "Moscow's falling in love with the United Nations." And once again Walters could find nothing to seize on in order to criticize Moscow. Had he done so, no one would have been surprised: We are so accustomed to thinking that criticizing each other's initiatives automatically, without a moment's thought, is the norm. Fortunately yesterday's norms are beginning to be seen as defective today. "We hope," the general said, "that Russia and the United Nations will have a happy romance."

And another question: What does he personally expect, what does the administration expect from Gorbachev's visit to New York? We think, the U.S. permanent representative replied, that the visit "will be productive and useful. The very fact that the leaders are meeting again is a positive event." When the general was asked to assess the prospects for the development of Soviet-American relations under G. Bush's administration, this was his assessment: There will be no striking changes compared with the present administration.

This is not, of course, the last word on this score. Who knows, after the meeting with R. Reagan and G. Bush that is to take place on the tiny Governors Island, perhaps the forecast will be different, with an orientation toward changes and still more intensive productivity in our relations. According to ABC television, this meeting will not only set the tone, it will also define the agenda for these relations for the new administration's term of office.

Interest in UN Speech Noted

LD0612222988 Moscow TASS in English 2131 GMT 6 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 7 TASS—By TASS political news analyst Vladimir Matyash.

The address of the Soviet leader to the United Nations is awaited with particular interest within that world organisation, for the steps taken by Moscow over the recent years attest to the Soviet Union's intention to enhance the United Nations role in international affairs.

In conditions when the problem of the survival of humanity in the face of nuclear and other global threats comes to the fore, it is necessary to crate a system of comprehensive security that would comprise all the main areas of international relations, would envisage the participation of all states. This is precisely the purpose of the initiative advanced in the United Nations by the Soviet Union jointly with other countries of the socialist community for a comprehensive system of international peace and security. The proposed concept of comprehensive security is based on the idea that in conditions of the nuclear-missile age, it is impossible to ensure national interests at the expense and to the detriment of the interests of others. Quite the contrary, the damage to the security of others is the damage to the security of all, consequently, one's own security. The balancing of interests is the only reliable foundation of comprehensive security. The proposed concept of comprehensive security is aimed at the creation of a nuclear-weapon-free and non-violent world and presupposes the full use of the potential of the United Nations Charter and effective functioning of the United Nations Organisation, the enhancement of its role in world affairs in the interests of all nations.

The United Nations Charter enables the U.N. to play an important role in the disarmament process, in the working out of concepts acceptable to all and of joint measures in the area. A broad scope opens for the activity of the Security Council, the General Assembly and other U.N. bodies. A dialogue among leaders of the permanent members of the Security Council, five nuclear powers, might be particularly promising. The United Nations has vast opportunities in resolving crisis situations which is shown, for instance, by the Geneva accords on political settlement of the situation relating to Afghanistan signed on April 14, 1988.

The Soviet Union declares steadily and consistently for enhancing the United Nations authority to the utmost, consolidating its political, legal, moral status. It declares in favour of the United Nations increasing its contribution to the consolidation of peace, to the shaping of new political thinking and mode of action. Summing up the United Nations role Mikhail Gorbachev emphasized in his book "Perestroyka: New Thinking for Our Country and the World": "True, it is not always that the United Nations efforts were successful. But, to my mind, it is precisely that organisation that is the most suitable forum for the quest of a balance of the interests of states, without which there will be no stability in the world."

Shishlin Comments on Visit

PM0712111988 London ITV Television Network in English 1900 GMT 6 Dec 88

[Interview with CPSU Central Committee official Nikolay Shishlin by diplomatic editor Trevor MacDonald in New York, monitored in progress during the Channel 4 newscast; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [MacDonald] One thing's clear—the Soviets don't want this to be just another superpower meeting. Central Committee official Nikolay Shishlin talked to me about this subject, and he began by telling me why Mr Gorbachev had decided to come to New York at this time.

[Shishlin] I think it's necessary to summarize the results of this year, 1988, and to decide with the world community what to do next year. It's quite necessary for us to overcome the Cold War, and we can't do it separately. We can do it with the United States, with Great Britain, with our allies and with our nonallies.

[MacDonald] Is this an indication of the importance that the Soviets attach to the United Nations?

[Shishlin] Yes, you're quite right, and they think it's necessary to remember about Gorbachev's article about the role of the United Nations organization. That's a unique organization, and when we have to decide global problems, we must use the United Nations organization. We must combine our efforts: all the nations—great, middle, little nations, little states.

[MacDonald] What about the meeting between Mr Gorbachev and President Reagan and President-Elect Bush. There's a lot of talk about this. The Americans seem to think that nothing concrete will be discussed, but the Soviets—your side—are saying that, in fact, it's a good opportunity to make some progress with the new administration. How do you see it?

[Shishlin] I see it as a conceptual conversation, not a concrete conversation about concrete problems—how to deal with START or with conventional weapons. I think that during this conversation it will be possible to find certain frames for a new productive Soviet-American dialogue, and it will pave the road to the next summit.

[MacDonald] Do you have any kind of thinking about when that next summit will be?

[Shishlin] This is my personal opinion. I think it could not be postponed for years. I think that summer months of 1989 will suit both presidents.

[MacDonald] And is Mr Gorbachev likely to put forward that proposal when he sees Mr Bush, although it will be a very short meeting?

[Shishlin] I think it will be a very short meeting, and a real date should be discussed by diplomats.

Speculation on Troop Reduction

FL0612212988 Hilversum International Service in English 2030 GMT 6 Dec 88

[Text] Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev has arrived in New York where on Wednesday he's due to address the United Nations General Assembly.

At Mr Gorbachev's departure from Moscow, it was stated that he would bring, quote, a Christmas present for Washington.

Our Moscow correspondent says he has heard from informed circles that in his New York speech, Mr Gorbachev will announce a unilateral 30 percent conventional force reduction. In our correspondent's assessment, this would entail the dismissal of some 140,000 professionals from the Soviet Armed Forces.

While in the United States, Mr Gorbachev will have meetings with outgoing President Ronald Reagan and President-elect George Bush.

Over now to our correspondent in Moscow for a special report.

[Correspondent] Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev will announce a unilateral reduction of 30 percent of the conventional Soviet Armed Forces when he addresses the General Assembly of the United Nations in New York on Wednesday.

Usually reliable sources in the Communist Party in Moscow, who confirmed this information, said that the Soviet defense minister, General Yazov is against this step that will cost to some 140,000 professional Soviet officers their jobs and it will limit the number of conscripts by 1 and ½ million. Yazov is said to resign if Gorbachev will make his sensational announcement.

The new defense minister will be the party secretary, Baklanov, a civilian who is now in charge of the defense industry.

Conservative circles in Moscow consider this spawn of Gorbachev as the proof that the Soviet leader has become more and more concerned about the public opinion in the West rather than in his own country. Especially for the elder generations that experienced the war, a weakening of the Soviet Army is a taboo. And since the Army has finally, more or less, reestablished law and order in the troublesome federal Republics of Armenia and Azerbaijan, there are calls for even more influence of the military in matters of policy but Gorbachev seems to be ready to sacrifice the super-potent military image of the Soviet Union in order to attain higher goals.

He needs disarmament because he needs money to improve the Soviet economy. Since the arms talks about the mutual reduction of the intercontinental missiles has

lost their pace, as everybody had to wait for the outcome of the presidential elections in the United States, such an offer to a drastic reduction of the conventional Soviet Armed Forces would enable these talks to regain their momentum.

And also for the improvement in relations with China, Gorbachev's decision would be of paramount decision. Beijing has always preached three conditions:

First of all, the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan to which the Soviets have already agreed, then a suitable regulation of the Cambodian problem. Last week the Chinese minister of foreign affairs, Qian Qichen, and his colleague [name indistinct] met in Moscow to come to the conclusion that a solution in Cambodia is within reach. And finally, Beijing has always insisted that the Soviets reduce their menacing large numbers of troops at the Soviet-Chinese border.

So putting aside domestic frustrations among the Soviet military, [words indistinct] surgical front cut in the conventional Soviet Army seems logical and reasonable. And that's in line with the new policy of Gorbachev.

(Aleksandr Mayov), Moscow.

Possible 'Christmas Present'

LD0612133388 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 6 Dec 88

[Excerpts] The Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to the United States has moved all other news stories to the background. Radio Moscow's special correspondent in New York, Pavel Kuznetsov, reports:

[Kuznetsov] [passage omitted] American journalists believe that the Soviet leader's visit marks the passing of the relay baton from one administration to another. But is it all calm and right in Soviet-American relations? The lack of a clear and specific agenda seems to be the main problem. The American side looked confused by the global approach of the Soviet leader and the scale of his proposal. As for the Soviet Union, it is surprised at the doubts still voiced in the West whether the policy of openness and renewal was launched in earnest and is going to last. But does the creation of a socialist state ruled by law and nothing else is the goal that can be achieved in a month or in a year? [sentence as heard] Or take amendments to the electoral system and the economic reforms, which have proved difficult to carry out, have they been launched only to mislead the others or keep up appearances?

True sound skepticism is justified, but there is no sense in trying to shatter confidence in perestroyka, and that is precisely what some journalists and officials have been doing. There has been much speculation about an intriguing statement by a Soviet delegate who had said on NBC television that Mikhail Gorbachev will make a Christmas present not only to the American people but to the whole of humanity. We shall not have to wait long.

The Soviet leader will address the United Nations General Assembly on Wednesday, 7 December.

Gerasimov Interview on Visit

PM0612134188 London ITV Television Network in English 1900 GMT 5 Dec 88

[Interview with Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov in New York by correspondent Peter Sissons in London, monitored in progress; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Sissons] A short while ago I spoke to the chief Soviet spokesman, Gennadiy Gerasimov, in New York, and I asked him first what he's expecting Mr Gorbachev's visit there to achieve.

[Gerasimov] Well, he has something important to say to the General Assembly of the United Nations, and after that he's going to have a meeting with the President and the president-elect of the United States. Three important events on Wednesday. Big day!

[Sissons] Does it add up to anything more than a publicity offensive?

[Gerasimov] Publicity for what? When he comes to the General Assembly here he has something important to say. It's not publicity—it's business, it's politics, it's diplomacy, it's not publicity. Publicity is simply a side-effect.

[Sissons] Is it about arms control? Is that what's top of the agenda now?

[Gerasimov] Arms control is always on the top of our agenda, but I prefer to talk not about arms control. We talked about this for too long. I prefer to talk about disarmament.

[Sissons] There's some speculation that the Soviets now want to put an end to the image of being the "enemy" of the West. Is that what you're getting at working towards?

[Gerasimov] This is not a speculation. I read in today's NEW YORK TIMES about a report which says that Warsaw Pact countries cannot attack Europe successfully even if they wished to do so, which is, of course, not the case. So the image of the enemy is being eroded not by publicity, not by propaganda, but by facts and policies.

[Sissons] But is this an aim of Soviet policy—to really kill off the Cold War once and for all?

[Gerasimov] Well, as I understand, Prime Minister Thatcher said that the Cold War is over. Here in the States some people say that it is not yet over, so I don't think it's a real discussion, that this question needs a real discussion. What is happening is that the Cold War is fading away, and we want to contribute to this process.

[Sissons] Would you accept that to contribute to the process, you have to convince the Americans, particularly, that revolutionary elements in Latin America will no longer have Soviet Union support?

[Gerasimov] I don't know. But I do know that revolutions happen independently of what Moscow or Washington or London, for that matter, want to do. Revolutions usually have local roots, and that's the way they are.

[Sissons] But would you accept that there has to be some change in the perception of right-wing American opinion of the global aspirations of the Soviet Union?

[Gerasimov] Well, the perceptions are there, but the facts are not there. Our new policy, policy of perestroyka, shows that we are not in an expansive mood; we have so many domestic problems; and in general, we now approach international scenery [as heard] as something where global issues are paramount. We place global issues like disarmament, like ecological problems, and others ahead of anything else.

[Sissons] How much is riding on the success of this mission for Mr Gorbachev's own domestic position?

[Gerasimov] There is a theory which, I guess, has an American origin, that he travels to the United States to improve his position at home. This is not the case. You see, domestic politics and international politics they go together, and he goes to New York and then to London not to improve his image at home, which is good enough without these trips, but to improve the relations with United States and with United Kingdom.

[Sissons] The Soviet side appears to regard the possibilities for this American visit more highly than the American side. How do you account for that difference in expectations?

[Gerasimov] It's expectations. You see I'm saying that continuity is the name of the game, and we want the process of improving Soviet-American relations to continue without interruptions, without artifical pauses. Usually they may have interruptions when there is a change of administration, change of personnel, people, faces, and it takes time for them to learn what foreign policy is about. So there will be pause, but we want this pause to be as short as possible, and we think that this meeting of our leader and American president-elect will help to continue the process of normalization and improvement of our relations.

Preparations for Bush Meeting

PM0612162788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Dec 88 First Edition p 4

[Report by own correspondent V. Gan under the general heading: "New York on the Eve"]

[Text] Washington, 6 Dec—Preparations are being completed in the White House for the meeting between President Reagan and Vice President Bush and M.S. Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, during his stay in New York in connection with his speech at the UN General Assembly session. As White House spokesman M. Fitzwater said today, the President and his national security assistant C. Powell are examining every morning the whole range of questions of Soviet-American relations, including the status of the arms control talks, regional problems, and bilateral links.

Answering numerous questions from correspondents, Fitzwater called the New York meeting a "friendly debate, an open discussion of problems existing between us, a healthy approach to continuity."

Clarifying Fitzwater's utterances somewhat, State Department spokesman C. Redman expressed confidence that the United States would "definitely be willing to debate the whole range of questions of arms control, human rights, bilateral relations, and regional problems." His words were confirmed by Assistant U.S. Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs R. Ridgway. "We expect there to be a wide-ranging discussion of current relations and continuity in relations and dialogue," she said.

The press and television are currently concentrating their main attention on the upcoming meeting. There are forecasts and suggestions for all tastes. Although some observers consider that U.S. President-elect Bush is not yet ready for serious talks, that he has not yet formed his national security apparatus, most agree that the exchange of views is very important in order to maintain progress in relations between the USSR and the United States.

Bush Comments on Meeting Noted

LD0612225988 Moscow TASS in English 0920 GMT 6 Dec 88

[Text] Washington December 6 TASS—The U.S. President-elect George Bush stated in Washington Monday that the United States would consider all proposals which Soviet Leader Mikhail Gorbachev might offer at the forthcoming meeting with U.S. President Reagan and the U.S. Vice-President in New York.

Mr. Bush pointed out that he was "most anxious to continue to seek ways to work together and have progress" in relations with the Soviet Union.

At the same time Mr. Bush said he would attend the New York meeting as Vice-President of the United States. Mr. Bush officially enters upon his presidential duties on January 20, next year.

In this connection he said "There will not be any commitment on my part in terms of specific arms control proposals or things of that nature".

"We'll listen, make clear we want progress—it's of interest to America and everybody around the world in my view—but not start moving forward in detail on strategic arms, conventional force arms deals or anything else," the U.S. Vice-President said.

Bush Interest in Proposals Noted

OW0612133988 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1125 GMT 6 Dec 88

[From "The World Today" program, presented by Valeriy Korzin]

[Text] The United States has been preparing for the visit of the esteemed guest—Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. The leading American newspapers constantly speak of this visit. The program of his visit has been discussed well in advance. One of the New York newspapers, for example, asked its readers to answer the following question: What area would they recommend to the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and president of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium to see so that he could get the best possible idea about New York, the largest city in the United States?

Many suggestions have been received. Besides, many writers have hospitably invited the Soviet guest to visit their homes. For example, on the facade of the building housing the U.S. Cost Guards a huge banner with Welcome General Secretary Gorbachev has been displayed for some time. All this can obviously be explained by Mikhail Sergeyevich's popularity among American citizens and the popularity of the sincerely peaceful foreign policy of our country.

Besides, of late American mass media have not only been providing a significantly greater volume of information about our country, but the information has also become more objective. That is why the Americans now know much more about the Soviet Union than before. They are aware about the changes that are taking place in our country.

Comrade Gorbachev will take part in the UN General Assembly session. He will also meet with President Reagan and George Bush, who will soon become the White House boss in his own right.

It is pleasing that Bush has already announced his readiness to carefully examine all the proposals that Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev will make.

I repeat, interest in Gorbachev's visit is enormous and one way this interest is manifested is that many U.S. television companies propose to hold direct broadcasts and reports on the arrival of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee at the airport. Leading television companies, such as the ABC, NBC, CBS, and CNN, which have a large viewing audience, plan to carry in full the Soviet leader's address to the UN General Assembly. All the other key moments of Comrade Gorbachev's visit will also be carried live.

Presently, many observers, recalling the past, remember how, step by step, beginning from Reykjavik, Soviet-U.S. relations developed, dialogue grew, and the distrust and prejudices melted away. Remembering all this, these observers have reasons to believe that the present visit by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev will herald a new stage on the way to lessening of tension in the world.

Walters, Richardson Comment

LD0612145188 Moscow TASS in English 1436 GMT 6 Dec 88

[Text] New York December 6 TASS—By TASS correspondent Nikolay Maslov:

American political and public figures attach much importance to the Soviet leader's forthcoming address at the 43rd session of the United Nations General Assembly and his meeting with President Reagan and Vice-President and President-elect Bush.

Vernon Walters, U.S. permanent representative at the United Nations, has said in a TASS interview that the Soviet leader has changed the world's idea of the Soviet Union, and that his forthcoming visit will be of much benefit.

The leaders of the two countries will have an opportunity to get to know one another better. Due to Gorbachev, Soviet people are spoken of abroad in a friendlier way, and we welcome that, he said.

I cannot say what will be the subject of the forthcoming talks between the leaders of the two countries but I am confident that Gorbachev is a man who prefers to speak of serious things and does not waste time on trifles. It will be a beneficial opportunity for an exchange of views. I am sure the Soviet side will offer lots of interesting things", Walters said. [no opening quote as received]

Elliot Richardson, chairman of the United Nations Association of the USA, who was previously U.S. secretary of defence and attorney-general, is of the opinion that the forthcoming meetings between the Soviet and American leaders will be exceptionally important.

Richardson emphasised in a TASS interview that contacts between the heads of state of the USSR and the USA are of immense importance not only for the two

countries but also for the building of a more durable peace on earth. He pointed to the great importance of Gorbachev's forthcoming address at the U.N. General Assembly session.

The Soviet Union's initiatives concerning the United Nations organisation are not only important from the viewpoint of Soviet policy but they also outline a long-term U.N. agenda, Richardson said.

An unprecedented opportunity is presenting itself for the establishment of not only a more stable world order but of a more reasonable and humane one as well. Current processes in the Soviet Union resemble a fresh wind cleansing society. What is being achieved in your country is done not only in the name of the Soviet people. This policy is beneficial for all the world's people, Richardson emphasised.

TASS Cites Bush Remarks at News Conference

LD0712072488 Moscow TASS in English 0720 GMT 7 Dec 88

[Text] New York December 7 TASS—President-elect George Bush has said that there is every opportunity "to go forward" in relations with the Soviet Union.

Addressing a news conference in Washington, Bush named several senior members of his administration.

He admitted "differences with the Soviets" on various problems.

"But do I see—am I optimistic about what I see in the Soviet Union? Absolutely," Bush said.

Bush, who will become president on January 20, said "I think we've come into a great period of opportunity in terms of some of the regional tensions."

He added that "the arms control agenda is one where we have a chance for real progress."

TASS Notes Latest Appointments by Bush

LD0712113988 Moscow TASS in English 1057 GMT 7 Dec 88

[Text] Washington December 7 TASS—U.S. President-elect George Bush announced a number of new appointments in his future administration on Tuesday.

He decided to appoint Robert Mosbacher, a Texan oilman and his old friend, who had been the treasurer of his election campaign. [sentence as received]

Thomas Pickering, the now U.S. ambassador to Israel, was appointed to be the U.S. permanent representative at the United Nations. Previously he had been the U.S. ambassador to Nigeria, El Salvador, and Jordan.

Carla Hills, who had been the secretary of housing and urban development in the President Ford administration, was appointed the U.S. representative at commercial talks.

Michael Boskin, professor at Stanford University, who was adviser on economic affairs in the Bush election campaign, will become the chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers.

Besides, Bush announced that he decided to leave William Webster at the post of CIA director.

All the candidates, with the exception of that of Boskin, are subject to ratification by the U.S. Senate.

Ambassador Dubinin Interviewed on Relations

PM0612161788 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 3 Dec 88 p 11

[Interview with Yuriy Dubinin, Soviet ambassador to the United States, conducted "especially for SOVETSKAYA KULTURA" by TASS correspondents Igor Ignatyev and Vladimir Matyash in Washington under the rubric "Our Interviews": "'Develop and Deepen Dialogue'"—date not given]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted]

[Correspondents] How has international communication changed in these 30 years? After all, as the experience of the 29 meetings between E.A. Shevardnadze and G. Shultz and the Soviet-American summit meetings has shown, the level of this communication has risen considerably in the last 3 years.

[Dubinin] Yes, there have been appreciable qualitative changes both in the development of the foreign policy situation and in the forms of dialogue between peoples. The most important thing in this respect is the new thinking—those concepts and ideas which now form the basis of international communication. The priority of common human values in international relations (precisely this thesis was expounded at the 27th CPSU Congress) represents a qualitative leap which has still not been fully estimated. It contains truly gigantic potential for transforming the world. This is essentially what gives impetus to all countries, irrespective of their socioeconomic systems, to work together to solve the problems which now really concern the whole of mankind without exception. It also creates totally new preconditions for diplomatic activity.

Soviet-U.S. relations are possibly the clearest example of this. Never before in their history have there been such frequent summit meetings. And if you add to this the number of messages which have been exchanged between the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States, well.... trying to piece all this together, you can

fully appreciate and worthily appraise what has happened recently in relations between these two great powers. You can also see how public opinion in the United States and Americans' approach to the Soviet Union are changing.

So, what are the decisive landmarks in these changes? They are well known to everyone. Geneva, which started it all. Then Reykjavik. That was the greatest turning point. And, finally, the triumph of this policy—Washington—which was then so favorably developed in Moscow. From being an "evil empire," the Soviet Union is now becoming something different, while the photograph of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan in Red Square is not simply hailed as photograph of the year. It is, perhaps, destined to become the symbol of the entire era. A total of 29 meetings between the two foreign ministers have indeed been held to date—this is a new record. They are important in themselves and also important with regard to preparing for summit meetings.

Whereas in the past, meetings between the highest state leaders took the form, as a rule, of negotiations between the leaders themselves (with the participation of a comparatively small number of aides), the new phase of Soviet-U.S. contacts has engendered fundamentally new forms of diplomacy: Every such meeting is accompanied by a vast number of parallel working meetings of experts.

Political dialogue between Moscow and Washington has opened up colossal areas of mutual interest on both the Soviet and the U.S. side. After all, until recently, relations between our countries were characterized by a spirit of confrontation. So every new area of cooperation has had to be studied in depth before being set on a practical footing.

Let us recall M.S. Gorbachev's historic statement of 15 January 1986. It is really global in nature and envisages the elimination of nuclear weapons by the year 2000. But not only this—it also concerns virtually every other disarmament problem that needs to be resolved. Now, for example, when a working group on disarmament problems is getting together, there should also be working subgroups on the reduction of strategic nuclear weapons, the prevention of the militarization of space, the elimination of chemical weapons, the reduction of conventional weapons, the curtailment of nuclear weapon tests, and so forth.

Or take another issue. So far there have not only been 29 meetings between our foreign ministers but also two meetings between the Soviet and U.S. defense ministers. We are conducting a whole series of talks with the American side with the aim of preventing incidents between the two powers' armed forces, which is exceptionally important in our space-missile age. In other words, we are trying to form really stable, lasting relations with the United States that look to the future.

[Correspondents] What else, in your opinion, has still to be done to bring about a radical breakthrough in Soviet-American relations?

[Dubinin] A combination of a great many things. First of all, of course, it is very important for the concept of new international relations and new thinking to engender as much mutual understanding as possible between the Soviet Union and the United States and between the Soviet leadership and the U.S. Administration. Take freedom of choice, for example, as one of the basic elements of the new political thinking. If an understanding of the importance of this principle and a common approach to it were to be established between the Soviet Union and the United States, then many other problems would be easier to solve and, what is more, solve on a truly stable basis.

If the new thinking—based on the priority of the common human values of mankind's survival in the nuclear age—were to really develop into genuine mutual understanding between the Soviet Union and the United States at an official level and at the level of our peoples, it would mean that even the most complex disarmament problems would, for all their magnitude, become nothing more than large component factors. We would be able to move more confidently along the path of strengthening the security of the Soviet Union and the United States and the world as a whole within the framework of radically lowering the armament level. The solution of problems connected with nuclear and conventional weapons or the reduction of naval activity would consequently be given a new boost. This, in its turn, is exceptionally important for the progressive development of relations between our countries. Ossified postulates inherited from the "cold war" years and era of confrontation, such as "zones of influence" and "spheres of vital interests," would thereby disappear.

To be more specific, it is very important to try to achieve a situation where the pace of reducing arms and armed forces—and we now have the historically important Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles—outstrips the pace of the arms build-up.

[Correspondents] What changes can we expect in Soviet-American relations under the new U.S. Administration?

[Dubinin] I believe that dialogue between the leadership of the Soviet Union and the new U.S. Administration will continue. In this respect I would like to remind you again of freedom of choice, which, in the nuclear age, when mankind's very survival has been placed in jeopardy, is becoming a political imperative and universal principle of international relations. I think we must hold bilateral meetings on official and unofficial levels, bearing in mind the cardinal task of safeguarding the security of both the Soviet Union and the United States.

I am thoroughly convinced that we must develop relations not simply with this or that administration in Washington but between the Soviet and American peoples and between the Soviet and American states.

It is also very important, of course, to ensure continuity in what has already been achieved in Soviet-American relations and not stop at this but move ahead. There are hopes that this will actually be the case. I think we can achieve more than a simple 50 percent reduction in strategic offensive weapons. Ideally, we would like to enter the year 2000 without any nuclear weapons at all. There is no doubt that all peoples on earth dream of this happening.

Large tasks lie ahead in the economic sphere. The importance of mutual trade is great—as is well known, trade was conceived together with human civilization. We are also taught this by Lenin's works, which call for contact between people and the solution of humanitarian problems.

Such is the agenda for Soviet-American relations at the present stage. Incidentally, it also includes the struggle for a healthy ecological situation. Think of the unprecedently high level to which Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev has raised this problem. We must also make full use of our scientific potential and use our scientific contacts for the benefit of peace and social progress.

It goes without saying that this is a very extensive agenda, but it is realistic nevertheless. In this respect we should consider the U.S. public's enormous interest in Soviet activity in the international arena and in the renewal processes taking place in our country, as well as the Soviet leader's great and deserved prestige in America. All this inspires confidence in the possibility of developing relations between the United States and the Soviet Union on a more stable, predictable basis. It would not be an exaggeration to say that strengthening relations between our peoples is not only a challenge of the time but also the primary guarantee of safeguarding peace throughout the world.

TASS Notes Shuttle Landing, 'Spy Satellite'

LD0712102788 Moscow TASS in English 1008 GMT 7 Dec 88

[Text] San Francisco December 7 TASS—The U.S. space shuttle Atlantis touched ground at Edwards Air Force Base, 128 kilometres north of Los Angeles in California.

In contrast to previous shuttle flights, the Pentagon closed Tuesday's landing of the Atlantis to public viewing. The shuttle programme was broken off after the challenger disaster in January 1986.

The flight has been classified because of its military character, according to the ASSOCIATED PRESS.

The five-man military crew deployed the new 20-tonne Indigo-Lacrosse spy-satellite to monitor a larger part of the Soviet Union.

The satellite is equipped with a radar system and is far more capable than the previous spy satellites, according to the NBC network. The Indigo-Lacrosse has night vision and cloudy-weather capability and transmits three dimension pictures of ground objects. It will also serve as the "radar eye" for the new strategic B-2 Stealth bombers.

Press reports indicated that the Atlantis crew conducted several experiments to define man's role as an observer in space. A special optical device was tested to monitor the Soviet territory.

The Atlantis flight was one of the most imporant shuttle missions, according to a Pentagon representative, Adm. Richard Truly, who heads the shuttle programme.

Visa Department Head on Approval Statistics

LD0712104988 Moscow TASS in English 1019 GMT 7 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 7 TASS—Over the ten months of the current year more than 77,000 Soviet citizens, including children, received permission to leave for other countries for permanent residence and for reunion with their relatives, Rudolf Kuznetsov, chief of the Office for Visas and Regristrations (OVIR) of the USSR Ministry of the Interior, told the MOSCOW NEWS weekly.

OVIR issued permissions, in particular, to more than 24,000 adult citizens to leave for the Federal Republic of Germany, which was 2.3 times as many as in the entire 1987 (and 36 times as many as in 1986). The number of those leaving for Israel is more than 14,000, 80 per cent more than last year. More than 11,000 applications for departure for the United States were granted, which was 2.2 times as many as in 1987. The list also includes several other Western countries, as well as socialist ones. Marriage is usually the reason for applying for departure for socialist countries. The share of replies in the negative was 1.4 per cent.

The above-mentioned increase in the number of permissions for departure is connected with changes in the Soviet legislature, which opened up possibilities for positive decisions on many applications which previously remained unsatisfied, Rudolf Kuznetsov pointed out. There are also problems in this respect.

On July 1 the U.S. Embassy in Moscow stopped the consideration of Soviet citizens' applications for leaving to the United States for permanent residence. At the end of the same month the embassy resumed the issue of permissions but shortly after that it again ceased issuing them—until January 1, 1989.

Meanwhile, according to American data, nine thousand people, who have already obtained permission to leave the Soviet Union, have been unable to get entry visas from the U.S. Embassy in Moscow because it attained the annual quota for immigration.

Recently the problem was discussed with American representatives at a bilateral seminar on humanitarian cooperation issues, Rudolf Kuznetsov said. There develops a paradox: on the one hand, Western countries, including the United States, say that the Soviet Union should allow more people to emigrate. On the other hand, they themselves do not show a desire to receive all those who obtained permission to leave the Soviet Union. The U.S. Embassy staff now tell us: do not issue permissions for departure until we give permission for entry. But the consideration of exit matters is a sovereign right of every country and we just cannot tailor our legislation to U.S. immigration quotas. Besides, invitations from the United States are legalised by the State Department which, consequently, knows that their number exceeds the quota. Nevertheless, invitations continue to come, and citizens, in accordance with the legislation, demand that OVIR issue documents for going abroad. It appears that the U.S. side wants to have choice: to let 'needed' Soviet citizens in and deny those it does not need. We proceed from the premise that all those people want to leave the country for a reunion with their close relatives. In this sense they are all equal. The problem remains topical. But we do not know how the Americans intend to resolve it.

Rudolf Kuznetsov confirmed that a new legislation is being elaborated in the Soviet Union to streamline the procedure for exit and entry on private business and for permanent residence.

China

USSR-PRC Talks Termed 'Extremely Fruitful'

PM0612115788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Dec 88 Second Edition p 5

[Vsevolod Ovchinnikov "Viewpoint" article: "New Stage"]

[Text] For the first time in 35 years a PRC foreign minister has paid an official visit to the USSR. The 3 days of talks between the heads of foreign policy departments seem to me to have been extremely fruitful.

M.S. Gorbachev received the Chinese guest. During the conversation it was noted that the two countries' leaders are now thinking about holding a summit meeting, and regard the exchange of visits by the foreign ministers as part of the preparations for it. The participants in the conversation reached the common opinion that a meeting between M.S. Gorbachev and Deng Xiaoping can be held in Beijing in the first half of next year. There can be no doubt that this event will mark the start of a new stage in Soviet-Chinese relations, will raise them to a qualitatively different level, and will have a positive impact on the world climate as a whole.

The talks between Foreign Ministers E.A. Shevardnadze and Qian Qichen, which were held in a businesslike, frank, and amicable atmosphere, lasted a total of around 12 hours. The participants advocated the full normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations and particularly noted that this must not create any hindrances to links between the USSR or PRC and third countries, or affect anyone's interests.

The return of bilateral relations to normal is an urgent need for our peoples. For all the differences between specific conditions, the processes of the renewal of socialism in the USSR and the PRC have much in common. This is reviving interest in the neighbor's experience, opening up opportunities to learn from each other's successes and failures, and multiplying points of contact and feelings of mutual amicability and trust. The participants in the talks expressed satisfaction at the fact that bilateral relations have improved in recent years. Mutually advantageous cooperation is being organized in the trade and economic, scientific and technical, and cultural spheres on a long-term contractual basis, and border trade and contacts under the auspices of social organizations are developing dynamically.

In now working toward the full normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations, it is important to look to the future, not to the past. The Soviet people would like to base relations with their great neighbor on the principles of equality, mutual respect for independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, noninterference in internal affairs, and consideration of each other's interests, views, experience, and practice. This is consonant with the Chinese side's desire to establish with the USSR relations of a new type based on the five principles of peaceful coexistence.

The Soviet side intends to continue to contribute to organizing between the USSR and the PRC full-scale political dialogue oriented toward friendship, cooperation, and mutual understanding between the two great socialist states. And not only in the context of bilateral relations. After all, as major world powers and permanent members of the Security Council the USSR and the PRC are responsible for the solution of many international problems.

Take confidence-building measures in the military sphere, for instance. The question of how to lower the level of military confrontation along the more than 7,000 km of the Soviet-Chinese border is urgent for bilateral relations. And in the international context problems of confidence-building measures and military detente in the Asian and Pacific region are acute. Improvement of the situation in this region would accord with the interests of all the states there, each of which could make its contribution to strengthening security and cooperation.

The potential of the USSR and PRC here is particularly great and must be utilized to maximum effect. The Soviet Union welcomes the readiness recently expressed by China to work jointly with other countries to transform the Pacific Ocean into a zone of peace, friendship, and good-neighborliness.

A thorough exchange of opinions on the Cambodian problem was also held at the talks in Moscow. It was noted that the USSR and China are interested in the speediest, most just and rational settlement of this regional conflict, and the foundations have now been laid for entering upon the final stage there. In the opinion of the Soviet side, dialogue between China and Vietnam would promote the success of a settlement.

The participants in the Moscow talks agreed that the time of bloc, hegemonist power politics is receding into the past. It is being succeeded by political means of solving global and regional problems. The improvement [ozdorovleniye] of Soviet-Chinese relations is an important part of the process of the general amelioration of the international climate, the strengthening of security, and the expansion of cooperation among all states in resolving mankind's vital tasks.

Commentary Hails Visit

OW0612140488 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 6 Dec 88

[Alekseyev commentary from the "Current Events and Commentaries" program]

[Text] Dear listeners: Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen ended his official visit to the Soviet Union on 3 December. Station commentator Alekseyev has the following comment on the significance of his visit:

First, I would like to emphatically point out that Qian Qichen's visit was an epoch-making event in the relations between the Soviet Union and China. It signified a new stage in the (?unfreezing) of Soviet-Chinese relations. This is clear from the fact that it was the first visit to the Soviet Union by a Chinese foreign minister in more than 30 years. Not only was it an important milestone in the road toward complete normalization of relations between the two countries, but it was also a major contribution to the healthy development of the entire international situation, particularly the situation in the Asia-Pacific region. Of course, it does not mean that the Soviet Union and China share identical views on all key issues. As Soviet leader Gorbachev pointed out in his meeting with Qian Qichen, in international politics each country acts independently in keeping with its interests. At the same time, we stand for extensive consultations and exchange of information and views.

Dear listeners, I would like to draw your attention to the Cambodia issue. As everyone knows, the Soviet Union and China act differently on certain aspects of the Cambodian issue. However, what is most important is that both sides (?want to help end) this protracted regional conflict. It is reasonable to say that fruitful results have been achieved in this respect. At the Moscow talks, the two sides reached conclusions, (?which created) appropriate conditions for stopping the conflict. They expressed willingness to (?find) a just and equitable settlement to the Cambodia issue.

Speaking of the Soviet position on the Cambodia issue in his meeting with Qian Qichen, Gorbachev pointed out: We believe that there is a basis for bringing the solution of the issue (?to its) concluding stage. As far as we know, a similar constructive spirit also marks the stance of the Vietnamese comrades and the Cambodian leadership.

Gorbachev pointed out: A dialogue between China and Vietnam could play an important role.

At the Moscow talks, the Soviet Union and China reiterated their pledge to promote and strengthen peace and good-neighborliness in the Asia-Pacific region. Obviously, the two countries can and should do much in this respect. The Soviet Union welcomes the efforts made by China and other countries to turn the Pacific into a region of peace, friendship, and cooperation.

Lastly, I would like to point out that the dialogue between the Soviet Union and China on these and other issues will continue. Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze has accepted the Chinese foreign minister's invitation to visit China to discuss, primarily, the preparation for the Soviet-Chinese summit. The summit is expected to be held in the first half of next year.

'New Stage' in Relations Seen

OW0712024388 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Mandarin to Asia-Pacific Region 1300 GMT 5 Dec 88

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen has paid a formal visit to the Soviet Union. He ended talks with Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze in Moscow on 3 December.

Mass media of the world are still enthusiastically commenting on the results of these talks. For the most part, interest has been generated because the results of the Soviet-Chinese talks and of the meeting between Soviet leader Gorbachev and the Chinese foreign minister show that the relations of the two countries have entered a new stage and have undergone new, qualitative changes.

Not long ago, political dialogue between the two countries replaced estrangement. The current dialogue is constructive and open. Both sides are seeking ways to expand areas of consultation. The foreign ministers of the two countries discussed a wide range of topics including bilateral relations and regional and world issues.

They pointed out that, on the whole, relations between the two countries have recently improved. They have exchanged experiences in economy, trade, science, and technology and have promoted cooperation through social organizations. Positive results have been made in talks on border issues. The two countries have also adopted a sincere attitude in discussing questions on promoting trust and reducing troops along the common border. All this shows that favorable conditions exist for further developing Soviet-Chinese relations.

This is a natural thing indeed because the fundamental interests of the Soviet and the Chinese peoples do not conflict. Furthermore, there is still tremendous potential for expanding mutually beneficial cooperation in all aspects of bilateral ties.

The question of a Soviet-Chinese summit in Beijing during the first half of next year was also placed on the agenda for discussion. The two countries attach great importance to this event. A Soviet-Chinese summit will certainly elevate Soviet-Chinese relations to a new high. It will be a decisive factor in achieving complete normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations and will have a positive impact on the international situation as a whole.

We are now fully justified in saying that Soviet-Chinese relations have solidly embarked on a path toward complete normalization. From Chinese leaders' statements, we know that whether in Moscow or in Beijing, the people feel there is no reason why China and the Soviet Union should not work to normalize bilateral relations. The two countries are now building a new type of relationship based on traditional friendship, good-neighborliness, and mutually beneficial cooperation between the Soviet and Chinese peoples.

In bilateral relations, the atmosphere has been constantly improved for enhancing mutual trust; for observing the principles of respect for each other's independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity, and of equality and non-intervention in each other's internal affairs; and for respecting each other's interests, viewpoints, experiences, and practices.

However, not everyone is happy with this development in Soviet-Chinese relations. Some people in the West are worried that complete normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations will harm the interests of the West. This is groundless guesswork. The Soviet Union does not want to harm the interests of any third country, including Asian and Pacific countries, to achieve complete normalization of relations with China.

In his conversations with Qian Qichen, Gorbachev stressed that the Soviet Union does not harm the interests of the peoples and countries of the Asia and Pacific region and upholds an open and honest policy. This conforms to the interests of all countries. This view is also shared by the Chinese leaders.

A few days ago, Deng Xiaoping, chairman of the PRC Central Military Commission, said that better Chinese-Soviet relations will not affect China's efforts to develop friendly relations with other countries.

The results of the Soviet-Chinese talks have deepened mutual understanding and somewhat increased the things in common. Not all differences between the two sides on some important issues have been ironed out. However, they are not crucial issues. As manifested in the talks, the important question is that both sides hope to discuss disputed questions in a calm and friendly atmosphere, free of prejudice. For example, on the Cambodian issue, both the Soviet Union and China declared that they are concerned about achieving an early, just, and reasonable solution to this regional conflict, and that they hope to find a solution acceptable to all parties concerned.

The Soviet-Chinese talks show that there is every reason to be optimistic about the future of Soviet-Chinese relations. This conforms to the desire of the peoples of the two great neighboring countries as well as the peoples of the entire world.

Soviet-Chinese Border Contacts 'Highly Valued'

OW0212024388 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 29 Nov 88

[Commentary by station observer Petrovskiy]

[Text] Both China and the Soviet Union highly value the development of economic and trade relations in the border regions. Station observer Petrovskiy would like to introduce to you the current situation and future prospects of border economic and trade contacts between the two nations.

Not long ago, when we talked about Soviet-Chinese border contacts, everyone understood that these contacts meant trade contacts between Soviet and Chinese residents in the border regions. However, recently the term "border trade" has taken on a broader meaning. A Soviet-Chinese agreement signed last June has greatly expanded the geographical scope of border trade. Currently, vast areas have become targets of direct trade. In the Soviet Union, they include entire Soviet republics, regions, and states; and in China, they mean provinces and autonomous regions. Cities in border regions also participate in border trade.

Another development in the present stage of Soviet-Chinese contacts is that our country has enacted the State Enterprise Law. According to the law, various Soviet enterprises have the right to directly participate in international trade. This has become a positive factor in developing Soviet-Chinese border economic and trade contacts. Bilateral trade has increased dozens of times. According to the estimate by economists, bilateral trade will reach 350 million Swiss francs this year. The scope of cooperation has also expanded, which not long ago

was limited to trade only. However, now it has expanded to included joint production, renovation of old enterprises, and establishment of new enterprises, agricultural projects, tourism, and others. Today, cooperation in these areas between the Kazakh Republic and Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, between Amure State and Heilongjiang Province, between Blagoveshchensk and Heihe City, and between other Soviet and Chinese administrative units is well-established. No doubt, Soviet-Chinese border contacts will continue to expand.

Many facts prove this point. First, I would like to point out the economic facts. For example, Heihe City has a labor surplus, while the opposite is true for Blagoveshchensk, which is experiencing an acute labor shortage. Yet the distance between the two cities is only 700 meters. Take Amure State as another example. The state's power supply exceeds demand. Besides, when the (Nanbuwei) hydropower plant, currently under construction, is soon put in production, it will vastly increase the region's power supply. Yet in China's northeast region, some 30 percent of production capacity lays idle for lack of electric power. Another advantage of these border contacts is that no foreign exchange is spent. Goods and services are exchanged on a barter basis, which leaves both sides with more foreign exchange to be used for other purposes.

In conclusion, I would also like to point out the political significance of border contacts. That is, border contacts have greatly improved Soviet-Chinese good-neighbor relations under voluntary conditions, which is an important factor in the general policy for all-around normalization of relations between the two countries.

Commentary Hails PRC-Mongolian Border Treaty

OW0212024988 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0300 GMT 30 Nov 88

[Commentary by station observer Nikolayev]

[Text] A Sino-Mongolian border treaty was signed in Beijing. The purpose of the agreement, as was stated in the document, is to preserve stability and peace in the Chinese-Mongolian border regions and solve border problems in an atmosphere of mutual understanding and cooperation. Station observer Nikolayev writes in this connection:

It is gratifying to see two socialist nations take a new step forward in their attempts to normalize and improve their relationship. The recent development in the Sino-Mongolian relations showed that the two countries have begun to travel on a route of good-neighborliness and friendship. The period of estrangement is going to be history. Cooperation in the field of economy and trade, science and technology, and culture and sports has resumed and expanded. An air route between Beijing and Ulaanbaatar was opened this May. Parliamentary delegations and trade union organizations have exchanged visits. The process for restoring contacts between parties has begun. Earlier this month, Choynoryn Suren, deputy head of the Mongolian Government, visited the capital of China.

During their talks, both Suren and Tian Jiyun, China's vice premier, expressed wishes for more contacts. The Soviet Union believes that China and Mongolia's developing neighborly relationship will be most beneficial to the political climate of Asia, and will make great contributions to the peace and security of the area. Incidentally, the Soviet troops that started pulling out of Mongolia last year and those that remained there at the request of the Mongolian Government also served the same purpose.

Not long ago, Mongolian Foreign Minister Gombosuren told the Soviet press that this will mark a new beginning in Mongolian foreign relations. His remarks demonstrated the determination of both the Soviet Union and Mongolia to implement the policy of comprehensively normalizing relations with China.

Northeast Asia

Shevardnadze To Visit DPRK, Philippines

OW0612120988 Tokyo KYODO in English 1155 GMT 6 Dec 88

[Text] Tokyo, Dec. 6 KYODO—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze will go on to North Korea and the Philippines after visiting Japan December 19-21, Foreign Ministry sources said Tuesday.

This will be Shevardnadze's first visit to the Philippines, which hosts two major U.S. Military bases, the Subic Naval and Clark Air Force Bases, the sources said.

Shevardnadze is expected to brief Philippine officials about Kremlin leader Mikhail Gorbachev's peace initiative on the Asia-Pacific region, they said.

When he last came to Tokyo in January 1986, Shevardnadze also followed up with a visit to North Korea.

North, South Korean Relations Described

PM0612141588 [Editorial Report] Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 6 December 1988 carries on page three under the headline "Above and Below the 38th Parallel" a 1,800-word "Letter From Pyongyang" by "Our Own Correspondent" A. Platkovskiy describing a visit to Panmun-dong, the venue for the discussion of preparation for an interparliamentary conference between North and South Korea, against the background of the history of Korea's division. Having noted the DPRK's "detailed program for normalizing the situation on the peninsula" and South Korea's "economic upsurge" coupled with the formation of "a new national awareness with a graphically expressed anti-Americanism," Platkovskiy continues:

"The recent Olympics left many vivid impressions. One was the performance of the Soviet sportsmen. Interest in

the Soviet Union is growing. South Korean businessmen are speaking of the prospects of taking part in the development of the resources of Siberia and the Far East. But many believe this to be a matter for the future. And the remote future at that. The absence of diplomatic relations is the main restraining factor inasmuch as the need for firm state guarantees will inevitably arise even in the question of joint enterprises."

Platkovskiy then notes that some progress has been achieved in reaching agreement on the procedure for the proposed conference. However, he points out, there is still a great deal of distrust between the two sides. "In addition, it is an inter-Korean matter, an internal and highly delicate matter. The dialogue is highly sensitive to fluctuations in the climate surrounding it. I shall cite examples of recent events," he notes, continuing:

"In October this year Hungary opened a permanent mission at embassy level in Seoul, which was the result of the increased volume of trade exchange and contacts. A NODONG SINMUN observer assessed this step as 'the betrayal of an old friend in socialism and the establishment of friendly ties with a stooge of imperialism who is unanimously denounced by all progressive peoples of the world.'

"I shall note that the recent talks in South Korea by a delegation from the USSR Chamber of Trade and Industry did not go unnoticed in Pyongyang, generating a guarded reaction here.

"The prospects for our advance on the markets of the Asian and Pacific region have already put the question of opening a road to Seoul on a practical footing. How our traders' steps will fit into the picture of the complex, painful settlement of the old and still acute problems of the Korean peninsula is another matter.

"...A large poster appeared recently at a crossroads in Pyongyang. It depicted a muscular hand with the index finger pointing upward. Below was the caption: 'Korea is one!'"

Rogachev Meets Japanese Businessmen

OW0312043388 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 29 Nov 88

[Text] In response to a request from the Japanese, Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Rogachev met representatives of the Japanese business community in Moscow and President Ota of Toho Life Insurance Company on 28 November. Concrete issues in the development of Soviet-Japanese trade and economic cooperation were discussed during the meeting.

Commentary on Japanese 'Military Construction'

LD0212134088 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1030 GMT 1 Dec 88

[From the "International Diary" program presented by Aleksandr Malikov with commentary by Boris Andrianov]

[Text] [Malikov] According to the Japanese newspaper YOMIURI, the Japanese National Defense Administration is starting to develop a new midterm program for military construction. It is to cover the 5-year period from 1991, and, at the same time, to map out the key areas in the development of the armed forces to the end of this century. I will ask my colleague, commentator Boris Andrianov to speak about this report.

[Andrianov] I think that the new program of Japan's military construction should be considered in close connection with the changes that are taking place within the so-called Self-Defense Forces of that country. This is one thing. The second, but no less important thing, is that one should evaluate the importance of the program taking into account a marked evolution of Japanese military doctrine.

While in the first case, when speaking about changes, I mean the modernization of the armed forces and armaments and the reequipment of the weapons stock, in the second case the question is that of reviewing strategic concepts of the military policies of the land of the rising sun. Foreign observers noticed long ago that a serious discussion was underway in some specialized Japanese military publications. Those taking part in it have been debating the issue of whether a strictly defensive military doctrine answers the country's national interests.

The majority of statements assert that such a defensive policy is not only obsolete but also can lead to nothing but the country's imminent capitulation in our time. In the course of the debate proposals for going over to a more active military doctrine are being put forward. Those adhering to the most extreme measures for implementing it are pushing for attack operations in our Far East, banishing the Soviet Navy from the northern part of the Pacific, isolating Soviet bases, and delivering lighting tactical strikes on Soviet territory. Of course, all those views belong to notorous hawks from among the Japanese top brass. But they make it possible, too, to judge about the amplitude of opinions about Japan's military future.

Individual elements of such a strategic doctrine, though, have already been elaborated in the course of joint U.S.-Japanese maneuvers. In particlar, they include sealing off international straits in the Far East to lock in the Soviet navy if so-called extraordinary circumstances—war—arise. More than once participants in suc militarist games have already simulated delivering nuclear missile strikes on Soviet territory and sealing off our naval bases. Thus, as you can see, in certain respects Tokyo is

gradually going over from theoretical deliberations to the practical elaboration of its new military doctrine. And it comes, in fact, to expanding the radius of defense and transferring the zone of combat actions to distant lines.

And this, in essence, is equivalent to preemptive strike attack in the interests of defense, so to speak. It is not for nothing that the National Defense Administration, when preaching its new military doctrine, thinks it necessary to substitute the offensive strategy of the spear for the principle of the shield. And it does not specify what the range of that Japanese spear will be. To all appearances, all this has been included in the foundation of the new program for Japan's military construction, because it presupposes a break with the currently active concept of repelling an attack within the boundaries of the country's territory and its substitution with a strategy of preventive measures at a distant front. It is in accordance with such a directive that it has been planned to prepare land forces for a possibility to deliver strikes against the enemy at an early stage of the deployment of its armed forces.

With this purpose in mind, the creation of special army units equipped with Japanese-made cruise missiles has been specifically envisaged. One need not be a military specialist to understand that such plans have nothing in common with ensuring Japan's national security. On the contrary, it is precisely in them that a considerable threat to security lies. Yet Tokyo ruling circles seem not to notice all that and they constantly reiterate their groundless arguments about the need to counteract the Soviet military threat. Obviously, they are unable to rid themselves of the complex of the old thinking. But it is high time to do that if one takes into account new wholesome trends in serious international affairs.

Mongolian Parliamentary Delegation Arrives

LD0512184388 Moscow TASS in English 1708 GMT 5 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 5 TASS—A delegation from the People's Great Hural (national legislature) of Mongolia arrived in Moscow on an official visit today.

It is being led by Tserendashiyn Namsray, a member of the Political Bureau and a secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Revolutionary Party of Mongolia who is vice-president of the Presidium of the People's Great Hural.

The delegation has been invited by the Soviet parliament.

Visits Supreme Soviet

LD0712024488 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2244 GMT 6 Dec 88

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] A delegation of the Mongolian People's Great Hural, in our country on an official visit, headed by Comrade Namsay, Politburo member and secretary of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee, deputy chairman of the Presidium of the People's Great Hural has visited the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The guests were told of the work under way in the USSR to implement the decisions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference and of the practical steps to deepen restructuring.

The delegation members spoke of the enormous importance of the social and socio-political changes taking place in the USSR.

Ways of further expanding ties between the USSR Supreme Soviet and Mongolia's People's Great Hural were discussed.

Mongolian Writer Proposes Removing Stalin Statue

LD0412141888 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0630 GMT 4 Dec 88

[Text] We begin this program with a dispatch from Mongolia. It recalls once again the relationship between the changes under way in our country and the life of other states, primarily of course, of the socialist states. So, over to our correspondent, Andrey Levin:

[Levin] The policy of renewing the whole system of society proclaimed by the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, sweeping democratization and glasnost have given rise to a burning and active interest, to put it bluntly, among the different sections of the population, in the history of their country. There is particular interest in the blank spots which have until now concealed the whole truth about the mass repressions and violations of the law during the thirties and forties in the period when the cult of personality of Marshal Choybolsan—a name that is unequivocally associated today with Stalin—was coming into being. It is hard to raise the people's consciousness and inspire them to radical restructuring without exposing the cult of personality created in the thirties. Evading a total exposure of this kind would be an unassailable barrier on the way to a genuine renewal of Mongolian society. This is the view, for example, of the eminent Mongolian current affairs journalist and writer (Lazaren Dashseren), who has recently appeared in the central press with the first public demand to remove the monument to Stalin in Ulaanbaatar and to rename the street bearing his name. At the microphone is (Lazaren Dashseren):

[(Dashseren) in Mongolian fading into Russian translation] How can we explain that ours is practically the only capital in the world where to this day a 3-meter-high Stalin standing unfliching, as if to say: (?And I'm safe here), the Mongolian current affairs writer asks rhetorically. The reason for the longevity of Ulaanbaatar's Stalin, which has survived intact both Krushchev's thaw

and Brezhnev's stagnation, is to no small degree connected with the Mongolians' traditional feeling of profound respect toward the Soviet people. In past decades, thanks to the perfectly functioning mechanism for propagating the cult of personality, which ran so smoothly in the Mongolia of those years as well, the Mongolian people came to regard the figure of Stalin as a substitute for the Soviet people and viewed it in the role of a benefactor of our country.

[Levin] All the same, stressed (Lazaren Dashseren), our friendship is a sincere feeling of the two peoples, the roots of which are in the depths of history not in the personal, friendly relations between Stalin and the obedient executor of his desires in Mongolia, Choybolsan. I believe the monument to the tyrant should be taken down as soon as possible, and perhaps it could be sent to be melted down to create a memorial in Moscow to the victims of Stalin's repressions, he said.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

SRV Communique on Withdrawal From Cambodia

LD0112213688 Moscow TASS in English 1929 GMT 1 Dec 88

[Text] Hanoi December 1 TASS—18,000 Vietnamese troops are to leave Kampuchea between December 15 and 21, says a Vietnamese National Defence Ministry communique issued today.

That will be the last unit of the 50,000-strong contingent of Vietnamese volunteers to leave that country before the end of the year as part of a limited troop withdrawal as announced by Vietnam and Kampuchea.

32,000 Vietnamese soldiers have already returned home starting from last June, the communique said.

Six infantry divisions together with their command structures are to leave Kampuchea by road and by ship.

Vietnam and Kampuchea are pleased to welcome as observers to oversee the troop withdrawal representatives of countries and international organizations, journalists and all those concerned with the Kampuchean problem, the communique says.

Vietnamese-Philippine Talks Called 'Positive'

PM0512121188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 3

[Own correspondent B. Vinogradov dispatch "Vietnam-Philippines: "Establishment of Mutual Understanding"]

[Text] Hanoi—The last days of fall have been described by the press in Southeast Asia as a period of great political activity on the part of Vietnam, a period which produced an appreciable thaw in the political climate of the region. Among a whole series of visits to Hanoi by ranking figures from a number of Western and Asian countries in October and November, the recent visit to Vietnam by R. Manglapus, Philippine foreign minister, occupies a prominent place.

The course and results of his talks with the Vietnamese leaders gave him reason to liken his visit to a "breakthrough" toward the development and improvement of relations between the Philippines and the SRV. Local journalists drew attention to the fact that R. Manglapus was the only senator in his country at the time to oppose the Philippines' participation in the Vietnam war and to demand that the dispatch of a batallion of Philippine servicemen to South Vietnam, on which the Pentagon insisted, be prohibited.

During the current talks aimed at expanding bilateral cooperation, the sides signed an agreement on the opening of permanent air connections between Manila and Ho Chi Minh City, and discussed prospects for the establishment of other economic ties. Vietnam and the Philippines have also agreed—and this is especially important—to hold annual political consultations in the future on various problems pertaining to bilateral and international relations.

In a joint communique they confirmed their commitment to resolving all questions and regional conflicts exclusively by means of peaceful talks. In this context the SRV and the Philippines regard the results of the informal meeting on the Cambodia problem in Jakarta as a positive development and declare their intention to promote the preparation and holding of a second meeting of this kind, scheduled to take place in Jakarta in February of the coming year. The sides also made a high appraisal of the continuation of the peaceful dialogue between Hun Sen and Sihanouk and representatives of other Cambodian groupings.

Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach stated at a press conference that Vietnam resolutely supports the Soviet peace initiatives put forward by M.S. Gorbachev in Krasnoyarsk and favors the elimination of all alien military bases on foreign territories. The general opinion is that the Vietnamese-Philippine talks in Hanoi have made a positive contribution to the implementation of the idea of transforming Asia and the Pacific region into a zone of peace, stability, and cooperation.

Meeting on Cambodian Situation Postponed

LD0612002088 Moscow TASS in English 2339 GMT 5 Dec 88

[Text] Paris December 6 TASS—The first meeting of the working commission, established during the recent consultative meeting of the Kampuchean sides in the French town of Fere-en-Tardenois, to study questions connected with the political settlement around Kampuchea has been shifted to 21-23 December of this year. Khek Sisoda, spokesman for Prince Sihanouk, informed newsmen of this here Monday.

The meeting was scheduled to begin on December 8 in Paris, but it was postponed at the request of the Kampuchean Ambassador to the USSR Hor Nam Hong, spokesman for the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

The meeting of the working commission will be attended by representatives of all Kampuchean sides. Earlier, representatives of "Khmer Rouge" who had not attended the meeting in Fere-en-Tardenois, reported their intentions to join the activities of the commission which is called upon to study in detail a set of issues pertaining to a political settlement in Kampuchea.

Observer Says Khmer Rouge Ready To Seize Power
BK0612095988 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1100 GMT 5 Dec 88

[Commentary by station observer Vasiliy Fedorov]

[Text] According to reports received from Thailand, the Pol Pot gang is making frantic preparations for powerful military campaigns inside Cambodia. Within the framework of such preparations, the Khmer Rouge have herded Cambodian refugees from camps located deep inside Thai territory to areas close to the Thai-Cambodian border.

Our observer, Comrade Vasiliy Fedorov, has this to say:

It is not difficult to understand what such a forced relocation of refugees means. As a matter of fact, the refugee camps have always served as sources of flesh and blood from which Pol Pot recruits men for his armed units which, every month, are receiving 300-500 metric tons of foreign weapons. These figures have been published by well-informed Thai newspapers.

The Polpotists are very indignant to see that refugee camps deep inside Thai territory have been placed under the control of international organizations. The reason is that this has made it difficult for them to forcibly recruit fresh troops for their army. Young men living in the camps, once they are of military service age, usually ask UN representatives or the Thai authorities for protection from the Polpotists.

A completely different situation takes place, however, in the camps located in the so-called special military zone, a vast region along the Cambodian border. This zone is off-limits to international organization officials. The Bangkok government itself is not concerned with the situation there, for hardly any Thai citizens still live in this so-called special military zone. Therefore, on Thai territory adjacent to the Cambodian border, the Khmer Rouge proclaim themselves overlords of the refugees. The way of life there, according to Western press reports, does not differ much from that which took place in Cambodia between 1975 and the end of 1978, when the country was under the heel of the Pol Pot clique. Now, the Polpotists are overtly saying that they expect to return to power in Cambodia when the Vietnamese troops are completely withdrawn. This troop withdrawal, as is publicly known, will be completed no later than in the early months of 1990. If nothing is done to block Pol Pot's scheme in time, if Pol Pot continues to enjoy the liberty of preparing his army unobstructed in order to seize power in Cambodia, if we do not plug up the hole through which arms are being spirited and taken to the Khmer Rouge, a civil war in Cambodia will certainly become a reality.

Those who continue to help the Polpotists are swimming against the current of our times. To justify their activities, they try unsuccessfully to make people believe that the Khmer Rouge nowadays seem different from those in the past, as they have amended, regretted their mistakes, and so on and so forth. For anyone who allows himself the luxury of such an idea, we would like to quote a personality who is best informed about the Cambodian affairs, namely Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, when he said: Only a person who is too naive or outright stupid can believe that the Khmer Rouge have any remorse for those so-called mistakes they committed in the 1970's.

Gusev Comments on Cambodian Cooperation Talks
LD0212105888 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1230 GMT 1 Dec 88

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] A meeting of the intergovernmental commission on trade and economic and scientific-technical cooperation between the USSR and the people's Republic of Kampuchea [PRK] has been held in Phnom Penh. Our correspondent Ye. Kochanov reports:

[Kochanov] The main attention was devoted to questions of raising the effectiveness of bilateral economic cooperation, the concentration of efforts and resources in areas and projects of more importance for the PRK's national economy, and the improvement of the mechanism of cooperation and its forms. Specific measures were outlined to set up joint ventures, and also on the establishment of direct production contacts between Soviet and Cambodian enterprises. During the meeting, a protocol on trade turnover and payments for 1989 was signed. The Cambodian delegation was headed by Chea Soth, vice chairman of the PRK Council of Ministers, and the Soviet delegation by Gusev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

[Begin Gusev recording] I appraise the work of our joint commission as being satisfactory. We have made further progress. Documents have been prepared and signed which allow us to expand cooperation, and to resolve many specific matters. [end recording]

[Kochanov] Questions of further strengthening Soviet-Cambodian cooperation were also discussed during a meeting between Comrade Gusev and Heng Samrin,

general secretary of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party, chairman of the PRK State Council. [video shows delegations seated at table; Chea Soth speaking; signing ceremony; exchanging protocols; Gusev interview; Gusev seated with Heng Samrin]

Cambodian Satellite Communications Station Opens
LD0212102888 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 1 Dec 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Summary] "The ceremonial opening of a satellite communications station built with the assistance of the Soviet Union, has taken place in Phnom Penh."

[Ye. Kochanov reports] "A Soviet delegation led by Gusev, a deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, took part in the opening ceremony." The new complex is part of the Intersputnik system, and uses many achievements of modern electronics and communications technology, and it is named Bayon, after a famous ancient Cambodian temple. "It was stressed in the speeches by the participants in the meeting that the erection of the station is a major step in the development of cooperation between the two countries, which will promote the movement of the People's Republic of Kampuchea along the road of progress."

"In present-day Kampuchea, with its extremly backward technical base and low standard of living, a satellite communications station looks, at first sight, even like a rather alien or premature phenomenon. But the Cambodians need it to help solve some of their tasks, though as yet it is far from being used at full capacity."

The Bayon station ensures reliable communications between Cambodia and the outside world, principally by telephone, and there will be telex links in the immediate future. It also receives Soviet television programs from the "Orbita" system: They are currently being relayed just to the capital and the surrounding area, but other regions will be able to receive them soon.

[Video shows Gusev cutting a ribbon and addressing a meeting; cheering, flag-waving crowds; a satellite dish; exterior shots of a building; men at work at control panels and screens, one of which shows the Moscow TV testcard]

Burma Reports Party Leader Aung Gyi's Dismissal
BK0712080488 Moscow in Burmese to Burma 1430 GMT 6 Dec 88

[Aleksandr Vladimirov commentary]

[Text] Former Brigadier General Aung Gyi is no longer the leader of the National League for Democracy [NLD]—the strongest among the 160 political parties that have registered in Burma. The dismissal of Aung Gyi from the NLD leadership, following a somewhat dictatorial demand by him for the expulsion of communist elements from the leading ranks, shows that the three NLD leaders cannot overcome their differences.

Bo [reference to a military officer] Aung Gyi has been well known for his strong anti-left stance ever since he was a leading military man under U Nu's prime ministership. He has personal contacts abroad and is considered to be a man with a positive grasp of practical economics.

Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, however, denies that ideology caused the rift in the NLD. From Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's remarks, the dismissal of Bo Aung Gyi was because of his strong personal ambition, and it was a victory for the democratic forces within the party.

Whatever the reasons may be, it is clear that the departure of that man, who was at the forefront in criticizing the system that had ruled the country for 26 years, shows that a crack has emerged in the ranks of a mighty force that Burma has been relying on for democracy.

Today, those who favor the growth of democratic principles and practices in Burmese society should have a clear understanding of the situation and should strive toward achieving their goal.

The emergence of a party headed by Bo Aung Gyi may cause disunity among the NLD membership. Some observers believe that the split of the NLD shows the immaturity of the political parties in Burma, which are not yet ready for multiparty general elections. Some also say that political parties formed without clear political and social platforms and on the basis of one or two leading personalities are bound to meet the same fate as the NLD. Some observers, however, believe that the division of the NLD itself helps save the multiparty general elections.

Whatever the reasons may be, it would not be right to eliminate the multiparty general elections. If unnecessary hasty decisions are avoided and conditions are created to extend the time for election campaigning, the Burmese people will be able to cast their votes and establish a political future in which they can express their opinions freely.

PRAVDA Criticizes U.S. Asia-Pacific Policy
PM0512112788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Dec 88 Second Edition p 7

[Oleg Skalkin "Viewpoint": "Conditioned Reflex"]

[Text] You get the impression that this has become a conditioned reflex for U.S. politicians and military men. The very mention of measures aimed at lessening militarist activity in the Asia-Pacific region provokes an immediate rebuff. People in America don't like this topic. They become very irritable when it becomes the subject of debate by virtue of particular circumstances.

After the agreement on the destruction of two classes of nuclear missiles, and against the backdrop of talks on a radical reduction in strategic arms and the quest for ways to reduce arms in Europe, it would seem logical to endeavor to extend this beneficial process to the Asia-Pacific region. But no. Americans evade serious discussions on this topic. People in Washington are evidently afraid that the warming of the climate in the region may weaken the United States' exclusive positions in the vast expanses of the two great oceans.

The latest evidence of this was a speech by William Taft, deputy U.S. defense secretary, at the Johns Hopkins University Foreign Policy Institute. His report was devoted to "U.S. strategy for ensuring security in Asia in the nineties." In fact its framework included the entire Asia-Pacific region, and above all the northern Pacific. Guess why. The United States sees its potential enemy there now, and, evidently, forever. They are preparing themselves and coaching their allies to repulse the "Soviet threat," paying no attention to the Soviet disarmament initiatives on the Pacific Ocean and Asia. A conditioned reflex. And something else as well.

Moreover, the United States has more than 3 times the number of warships and more than 10 times the quantity of deck aviation as the USSR. There are almost 300 various kinds of U.S. military installations. It deploys nuclear missile systems in the Asia-Pacific region, including sea-launched nuclear missiles. It is intensifying its naval activity. The most recent news on this score concerns the United States' intention to use its experience of U.S. Navy operations in the Persian Gulf in order for Washington to exercise influence throughout the Asia-Pacific region "in a complex situation somewhere between war and peace." That is the situation. It has a direct bearing on what Mr Taft said. The U.S. strategic perspective presents the last decade of this century as the direct continuation of its policy hitherto: full speed ahead with the arms race and military preparations. Figuratively speaking, the United States is sailing toward the turn of the century on a nuclear dreadnought.

Washington primarily sees Japan as following U.S. military might. Correspondingly, the high-ranking Pentagon official's speech devoted particular attention to the ally in the Far East. The United States is delighted that in the near future the Japanese "will possess a fleet of destroyers and ASW systems that is three times more powerful than the combined forces that the U.S. Navy has in the western Pacific and the Indian Ocean." They are equally delighted by the rapid increase in Japanese air defense forces. The deputy defense secretary only fails to mention the attitude of the countries in the Asia-Pacific region to this accelerated buildup in the military muscle of the Japanese "self-defense forces."

It seems that Washington's strategy of "ensuring security" in the region over the next decade does not take many of these countries into consideration at all. Its authors not only pass over the Soviet Union's Vladivostok and Krasnoyarsk initiatives, but they are not making adjustments in response to such very important international actions as the formation of a nuclear weapons-free zone in the southern party of the Pacific. They are not taking into consideration proposals regarding the creation of such zones in Southeast Asia and in the Korean Peninsula. People in the United States don't want to take note of the large-scale initiatives put forward by India concerning measures to create a nuclear-free world, a nonviolent world, and many other things also.

In other words, two varying and, I would say, contradictory trends can clearly be seen in the international life of the Asia-Pacific region. The progressive trend is leading toward an improvement in the regional political atmosphere, the solution of conflicts, and the restructuring of international relations in the Asia-Pacific region. The conservative trend urges confrontation. The Soviet Union is on the side of the progressive trend and is doing everything to ensure that it gains the upper hand.

Near East & South Asia

Ryzhkov Receives Iranian Minister Iravani

LD0612144288 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1340 GMT 6 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow, 6 Dec (TASS)—Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, received in the Kremlin today Mohammad Iravani, minister of economy and finance of the Islamic Republic of Iran, who has arrived in Moscow at the head of an Iranian delegation to take part in the work of the 11th session of the permanent Soviet-Iranian Commission on Economic Cooperation.

A thorough exchange of views took place on a broad range of issues relating to Soviet-Iranian relations, as well as the situation in the Middle East, which are of interest to both sides.

Mohammad Iravani delivered a message from Iranian Prime Minister Mir Hoseyn Musavi to the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. He noted that the radical positive changes in the Soviet Union in the course of restructuring, which are being followed with great interest in Iran, as well as the end of the Iran-Iraq War create a favorable atmosphere for the more intensive development of relations between Iran and the Soviet Union. The session of the permanent Soviet-Iranian commission in Moscow is a practical step toward realizing the opportunities available here.

Nikolay Ryzhkov, having noted the common interests of the Soviet Union and Iran as neighboring states which traditionally maintain close links with each other, expressed the view that evidently the time has come when the Soviet Union and Iran should move forward more vigorously in various spheres of bilateral relations.

This would serve the interests of both countries as well as the cause of stabilizing the situation in the vast region of Asia where problems relating to regional conflicts, independent development, and the socioeconomic progress of peoples are acute.

The two sides stressed the importance of the joint search for new effective forms of mutually advantageous Soviet-Iranian economic cooperation.

During an exchange of views on regional problems the Soviet side drew attention to the development of the situation in and around Afghanistan. It was stressed that real ways of settling the Afghan situation could be determined at an international conference which the government of Afghanistan had proposed should take place, and that the Soviet Union would like to see Afghanistan as an independent, neutral and nonaligned state.

Mohammad Iravani reported on the Geneva talks on the Iran-Iraq settlement.

Nikolay Konarev, chairman of the Soviet section of the permanent Soviet-Iranian commission on economic cooperation and USSR minister of railways; Konstantin Katushev, USSR minister of foreign economic relations; Vladimir Gudev, USSR ambassador to Iran, and Naser Heirani-Nobari, Iran's ambassador to the USSR; and other officials were present at the talk, which passed in a business like and friendly atmosphere.

Tehran Reports Iravani Visit

LD0612171988 Tehran IRNA in English 1710 GMT 6 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow, Dec. 6, IRNA—"The USSR is for expansion of ties with the Islamic Republic," Soviet Premier Nikolay I. Ryzhkov told Iran's minister of economy and financial affairs, who presented a message from Prime Minister Hoseyn Musavi today.

"A new chapter has been opened in Tehran-Moscow ties" said the chairman of the Soviet Council of Ministers calling "on behalf of the Soviet leadership" for deepening of political and economic ties."

Mohammad Javad Iravani here to participate in the 11th session of the Tehran-Moscow permanent economic commission which opened Monday, responded that the two neighbours enjoy ample facilities for cooperation.

He stressed on promotion of bilateral cooperation in the fields of natural gas, oil, energy and transport.

Ryzhkov and Iravani also reviewed the trend of the U.N. mediated Iran-Iraq peace talks and the developments in Afghanistan, from where the Soviet Union is supposed to pull out its force.

The Iranian minister arrived here on December 4 at the head of an economic delegation.

Vorontsov, Afghanistan's Rabbani Continue Talks

TA0612155888 Moscow in Dari to Afghanistan 1500 GMT 5 Dec 88

[Text] Talks continued on Sunday in the Saudi Arabian town of Al-Ta'if between Yuliy Vorontsov, first Soviet deputy foreign minister and Soviet ambassador to Afghanistan, and Burhanuddin Rabbani, representative of the armed Afghan opponents headquartered in the Pakistani city of Peshawar.

The Saudi Arabian news agency reports that the two sides are discussing various aspects of the Afghan problem.

Afghanistan's Bakhtar Information Agency has termed the talks in Al-Ta'if, which have just ended, an important step toward the restoration of peace and national reconciliation in the country. Bakhtar notes that the Afghan people expect the armed opponents to use the language of negotiations. The commentary says that only in such a case can Afghanistan be saved from fratricide.

Anniversary of Treaty With Afghanistan Celebrated

Afghan Leaders' Greetings

PM0712104988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Dec 88 Second Edition p 1

[Afghan leaders' undated greetings to Soviet leaders on 10th anniversary of Soviet-Afghan friendship treaty]

[Text] To M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers

It gives us pleasure, personally and on behalf of the people and government of the Republic of Afghanistan, to express to you and to the government and people of the Soviet Union sincere and warm congratulations in connection with the 10th anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Friendship, Good-Neighborliness, and Cooperation between the Republic of Afghanistan and the USSR.

The 1978 treaty laid a sound legal basis for the two countries' all-around and fruitful economic and political cooperation. This treaty confirmed the new lofty principles of Afghan-Soviet relations, strengthened Afghanistan's defense potential in the face of external interference, and helped to defend the people's interests and democratic gains and to preserve the country's national sovereignty.

The history of Afghan-Soviet relations is vivid testimony to the traditional friendship and good-neighborliness of our countries' peoples and to their allegiance to the principles of equality of rights and mutual understanding.

The Afghan people express cordial gratitude to the Soviet Union for its tremendous economic, political, military, and humanitarian aid. The significance of this aid is increasing particularly at the present crucial, turning-point stage in the life of Afghan society—the stage of realizing the policy of national reconciliation and the efforts aimed at implementing the Geneva agreements.

The Soviet Union's large-scale initiatives based on the new political thinking and aimed at ending the arms race, creating a nuclear-free world, and achieving the political settlement of regional conflicts enjoy our people's broad support.

Adhering to the principles of peaceful coexistence and the nonaligned movement, Afghanistan advocates the development and broadening of equitable relations with all countries.

We voice complete confidence that the traditional friendship and all-around cooperation between our states and peoples will continue to strengthen for the good of the two countries' peoples and in the interests of ensuring peace and security in the region and throughout the planet.

We take this opportunity to sincerely wish you, dear friends, good health and splendid new achievements for the Soviet Union in implementing the plans for the country's socioeconomic development and ensuring peace throughout the world.

Najibullah, general secretary of the PDPA Central Committee and president of the Republic of Afghanistan

Doctor Muhammad Hasan Sharq, prime minister of the Republic of Afghanistan.

Soviet Greetings to Afghanistan

PM0612162588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Dec 88 Second Edition p 1

[Soviet leadership bodies' undated greetings to Afghan leaders on 10th anniversary of Soviet-Afghan friendship treaty]

[Text] To Najibullah, president of the Republic of Afghanistan and general secretary of the PDPA Central Committee

Muhammad Hasan Sharq, prime minister of the Republic of Afghanistan

We cordially congratulate you and the entire Afghan people on the 10th anniversary of the Soviet-Afghan Treaty of Friendship, Good-Neighborliness, and Cooperation.

In the history and traditions of relations between our countries and peoples the 1978 treaty reflected a new stage of Soviet-Afghan bilateral cooperation in various areas.

The policy being pursued by the Soviet Union and the Republic of Afghanistan with a view to achieving an all-embracing Afghan settlement fully accords with the aims enshrined in the treaty. The Soviet side wholly supports the idea advanced by the Afghan leadership of convening an international conference on Afghanistan under UN auspices.

The Soviet Union advocates the progressive development of multifaceted Soviet-Afghan mutually advantageous cooperation in the interests of strengthening good-neighborly relations between the USSR and the Republic of Afghanistan.

We wish you and the entire Afghan people the speediest establishment of peace and tranquillity in the country, national reconciliation, and the restoration of normal living conditions—which the Soviet Union will promote in every possible way.

The CPSU Central Committee

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

The USSR Council of Ministers

Observer Views Afghan Treaty

LD0312235888 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0810 GMT 3 Dec 88

[TASS observer Valeriy Vavilov commentary]

[Text] Moscow, 3 Dec (TASS)—"Determination to strengthen and deepen inviolable friendship and cooperation on the basis of equal rights, respect for national sovereignty, territorial integrity, and noninterference in internal affairs" were expressed by the Soviet Union and Afghanistan in the Treaty of Friendship, Good-Neighborliness, and Cooperation signed 10 years ago, on 5 December 1978.

This treaty was a natural continuation and consolidation of Soviet-Afghan relations that had already developed, the foundation of which was laid as long ago as 1921, when Soviet Russia was the first to recognize the independence of Afghanistan. It is a manifestation of a new type of international relations, relations which are completely voluntary and based on equal rights and mutual respect, and reflects the policy of the Soviet state that aims to put into practice the idea of total and definitive emancipation of oppressed peoples, their liberation from

colonial dependency, and the indisputable right of every people to choose its own path of development without outside intervention of any kind.

Soviet support has helped Afghanistan to defend and strengthen its independence, and has facilitated the economic resurgence of the state, overcoming feudal backwardness, and the transition to the rails of democratic transformations.

With Soviet help, a gas and chemical industry and a power based have been created in Afghanistan; around 320 industrial facilities have been built and major irrigation complexes set up which have made fertile tens of thousands of hectares of dry land.

It is sad to have to hear that many of these facilities are now inactive, destroyed by the armed opposition. They are targets for missiles, long-range guns, and mortars. Members of the opposition, trained by U.S. and Pakistani instructors, are blowing up electricity power lines, destroying schools, and turning once flourishing oases in Jalalabad's irrigated valleys into desert.

The Kabul government is doing everything possible to end the bloodshed. It is now proposing that an international conference under the auspices of the United Nations be convened, which could facilitate an end to the conflict. Settling the foreign policy aspects of the problem would facilitate solving Afghanistan's internal problems as well as setting up the broadest possible coalition government.

Here is ths realistic way to eliminate the conflict and stop a fratricidal war. The Afghan people long to return to a life of peace and the Soviet Union is ready to cooperate in every way in this matter.

Afghan Telegrams Cite Continued Fighting

LD0312235388 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 3 Dec 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Today's telegrams from Afghanistan tell of the continuing fighting on virtually the entire territory of the country. The war there knows neither weekends nor days off. The number of Soviet troops in Afghanistan has noticeably fallen since the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan were first implemented. All the same, even now much responsibility rests with them, with the Soviet pickets and sentry posts.

[M. Leshchinskiy, identified by screen caption] Most of the Soviet sentry pickets and posts are now concentrated along the road with links Kabul with the north of the country and our border. Its significance has always been great; but in winter it is quite simply vital to the capital of Afghanistan. This is the road used for military and economic cargo, fuel, and provisions. In the present early winter days it has already become perfectly clear that the armed opposition is attempting to shift the war into the sphere of the economy and to impose a complete blockade on Kabul. The rebels have succeded totally or partially in cutting the main roads into the capital from the southwest and destroying a number of powerlines. Only this highway works steadily, largely guarded as it is by our troops. That is the important task they fulfill.

We decided to drop in on a picket, where the company of (Captain Kruzhechko) is based, or rather a small part of it. Several dozen kilometers of road on the southern slopes of the Salang Pass come within the subdivision's responsibility. And therefore the personnel are scattered among sentry and listening posts on the near and distant approaches to the highway. We were of some use, with our fresh news from Kabul, and in return we learned of the situation on this section of the road. It is getting progressively more difficult. The forces of the armed rebels are massing here. The main thing at the moment is forbearance and vigilance.

There is a monument high above the road and the picket. They died at the age of 20: (?Idus Sabir) from Tatariya, and Avar Ibragim Ibragimov. They perished defending the Kabul highway where, at their military post, their comrades are new entering their final winter on Afgan soil. [video shows scenes of the section of the road in question with trucks and tankers bumping their way along, overlooked by armored personnel carriers]

Government Congratulations to Bhutto Reported

PM0612155388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Dec 88 Second Edition p 4

[USSR Council of Ministers congratulations to Benazir Bhutto on appontment to Pakistani premiership]

[Text] To Her Excellency Mrs Benazir Bhutto, prime minister of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan

Please accept our sincere congratulations on your appointment as prime minister of Pakistan.

We wish you success in your responsible activity in this high office. We express the hope that Soviet-Pakistani relations will develop successfully in the period to come in a spirit of good-neighborliness and mutually beneficial cooperation for the benefit of the peoples of our countries and the interests of peace and security in Asia and throughout the world.

The USSR Council of Ministers

Benazir Bhutto Cited on Policy Intentions

PM0612111788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Dec 88 Second Edition p 5

[PRAVDA and TASS special correspondents O. Kitsenko and Ye. Aleksandrov report: "Pakistan: Plans for the Future: B. Bhutto's First News Conference"]

[Text] Islamabad, 3 Dec—Benazir Bhutto gave her first news conference as the new prime minister of Pakistan here today. In a speech on television and radio the day

before she had stated that her government will be seeking to improve relations with the Soviet Union. Replying to your correspondents' question on the ways and directions in which she will be working to achieve that goal, the Prime Minister said: "We will strengthen and expand our trade relations and other ties."

In addition, we asked B. Bhutto what specifically the Pakistani Government intends to do to promote the earliest solution of the Afghan question. "I have already said that Pakistan's policy toward Afghanistan remains unchanged," she said. "We hope everything will go smoothly. We are witnessing contacts between the alliance (the Afghan armed opposition—correspondents' note) and the Soviet Union on the question of prisoners of war. It is possible that in time contacts of this kind may extend to other problems." In reply to a question on her attitude toward the proposal to convene an international conference on Afghanistan, the Prime Minister said that she is awaiting advice on this matter from various government departments. In a statement at today's press conference, Bhutto pointed out that "we expect our relations with our great neighbor to improve as the Soviet troops withdraw from Afghanistan."

Touching on other foreign policy problems in the statement and in replies to questions, Bhutto said that her government will seek to strengthen relations with the United States, maintain the traditional excellent relations with China, ease tension between Pakistan and India, and establish cooperation with the developing countries.

Speaking about Pakistan's domestic problems, the Prime Minister advocated the democratization of sociopolitical life, the safeguarding of national unity and law and order, and the elimination of lawlessness in the country. Economically, she said, the country has been reduced to bankruptcy. Her government will seek to accelerate economic growth, expand the economic opportunities of the middle class, and bridge the gulf between rich and poor. She expressed the government's intention to attract foreign capital to help resolve economic problems. Our goal, she noted, is to strengthen the nation by improving the situation of ordinary people.

'Arafat Meeting With Swedish Minister Noted

LD0712081488 Moscow TASS in English 0805 GMT 7 Dec 88

[Text] Stockholm December 7 TASS—Palestine Liberation Organization chief Yasir 'Arafat, who came here Tuesday for a visit at the invitation of the Swedish Government, has had a meeting with Foreign Minister Sten Andersson. The agenda included the resolutions of the recent Palestine National Council session in Algiers.

'Arafat also met with representatives of U.S. public organizations calling for a peaceful Middle East settlement.

A news conference on the results of the meetings is arranged for later today at Riksdag (Parliament).

Prospects for Renewed Israeli Relations Viewed

TA0512204088 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Hebrew 1730 5 Dec 88

[Summary From Poor Reception] An unattributed commentary discusses the prospects of Israeli-Soviet relations in the wake of the Israeli handling of the hijacked plane. After commenting on the meeting held in Moscow, it was noted that expectations had risen in Israel regarding the establishment of political relations. The moderator goes on to say that "in our opinion there is no room for such direct conclusions. We believe that the renewal of diplomatic relations is not a present given for good behavior." The commentator later adds that "MRPP [Moscow Radio Peace and Progress] is under the impression that the cooperation in the operation against the terrorists will bring about positive results."

Radio Calls For Continuing Peace Dialogue

TA0312155288 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Hebrew 1730 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] You have just listened to remarks by Knesset Member [MK] Yosi Sarid of the Citizens Rights Movement. [In the broadcast's previous segment, MK Sarid was asked for his opinions on the recent PNC resolutions. Sarid said that although there has not been a major change by the PLO, there has been some positive movement.]

Some 2 or 3 years ago, one would not have expected the broadcasting station of Soviet public organizations to interview an Israeli statesman on the key issues of the Middle East settlement. This, however, is the logic underlying the evolution of glasnost and the new political thinking. It is about time we put the emphasis on verbal exchanges, on expanding the dialogue as much as possible. Indeed, when we hold our microphone up to statesmen from the West, including from Israel, this does not mean that we agree with everything they say. There are also disagreements, including on the issues discussed. We recognize the right of anyone to express an opinion that differs from ours, but at the same time, we reserve the right to react and to express our views. We have disagreements with MK Sarid too. We do not accept his claim that the Soviet Union and the United States did not extend constructive aid to the elements involved in the Middle East conflict in order to get them to the negotiating table. It would suffice here to mention the Geneva conference, a framework formed by the two large superpowers. That conference played an important role in reducing tension in the Middle East after the Yom Kippur War. A disengagement of forces was decided on, the UN force for the Golan Heights was set up, and it should be noted that just recently this force was lauded by Defense Minister Yitzhaq Rabin.

The USSR did not and will not adopt the method of enforced solutions. MK Sarid indirectly criticizes this position and stresses that he does not oppose coercive negotiations. On the surface, it sounds very enticing. The USSR brings its friends to the negotiating table and the United states brings its friends, but we think that such an easy solution is not the best way out. In fact, in general we oppose the system of pressure in diplomacy, especially now, when our foreign policy is based on the unequivocal recognition of freedom of choice by all nations. We also believe that coercive negotiations simply will not last. If those involved in the process—and it is irrelevant if it is Israel, the Palestinian movement, or Syria—are dragged into negotiations against their will, they cannot be expected to take actions that will assure the negotiations' success. On the contrary, it is reasonable to assume that they will exploit the first opportunity to torpedo the entire peace process. A stinging example of failed imposed negotiation is the Israeli-Lebanese dialogue of 1983. Even a peace accord was signed then, but who remembers it now?

We believe that the peace process can result only from free choice by all the parties involved in the conflict. That is why the sane camp in Israel cannot expect the superpowers to come and impose negotiations. Israelis themselves must act to force the government to enter negotiations. If Israelis and Arabs reach the conclusion that they must reach a political compromise that will take into consideration the interests of the other side, the USSR will also be prepared to provide them with all the necessary assistance. There are differences which we do not even try to hide, but we believe that what is important is not what divides us, but what unites us.

During many years of mutual recrimination, both sides—we and the Israelis—held preconceptions and negative cliches about the other side. It now appears that we have quite a lot of common interests with the sane camp in Israel. We recall the mutual positive perception about [words indistinct] processes, and the joint awareness about the necessity for political negotiations on the recognition of Israel's existence and the Palestinians' right to self-determination, as well as the mutual aspiration to improve relations between our countries to solve the regional conflict. In the words of Ecclesiastes: There is a time to cast away stones, and a time to gather stones together. Up to now, we have been gathering stones to build barricades and then have been casting them away by means of [word indistinct] and gravel shooters. Now is the time for new approaches, to cast away stones from the barricades, and then gather them to build the structure of mutual understanding and joint cooperation.

Moscow Radio Peace and Progress operates through popular diplomacy and will not remain indifferent to this process. We hope that our dialogue with MK Sarid is merely the first step. Our microphone is also open to other politicians and public figures in Israel. You, our listeners, can also make your opinions heard if you wish. Call us in Moscow at the following telephone numbers: 2336125, 2336465, or 2336159.

Mubarak Has Talks With Iraqi, Jordanian Leaders

PM0612160988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Dec 88 First Edition p 5

[Own correspondent V. Belyakov dispatch: "Coordination of Action"]

[Text] Cairo, 5 Dec—The Egyptian capital became the venue for summit meetings last week. Cairo was visited by President S. Husayn of Iraq and then by King Husayn of Jordan. They discussed with Egyptian President H. Mubarak the Near East situation in the light of the decisions made at the latest Palestine National Council [PNC] session and the United States' refusal to issue a visa to Y. 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, who had been planning to address the UN General Assembly session in New York. All three states have recognized the independent Palestinian state proclaimed at the PNC session.

Egypt, Iraq, and Jordan expressed disagreement with the U.S. Administration's decision and took steps at the United Nations to achieve the transfer of the debates on the Palestinian problem from New York to the UN European headquarters in Geneva. In the opinion of these states' leaders, the PNC session decision offers a good opportunity to galvanize the quest for peace in the Near East. They believe that this would also be furthered by the elaboration of a joint Arab position. According to Cairo press reports, there was also a discussion of the possibility of convening the next Arab summit conference in Riyadh next January. Moreover, both Jordan and Iraq would like Egypt to take part in this conference's work.

Let me remind readers that almost 10 years ago, following the signing of the Egyptian-Israeli "peace treaty," Egypt's membership of the Arab League was suspended and almost all Arab states severed diplomatic relations with it. During the last year, however, most of them—except Syria, Lebanon, and Libya—have restored relations with Egypt.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Angolan President Receives Adamishin in Luanda

LD0612024588 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2108 GMT 5 Dec 88

[Text] Luanda, 6 Dec (TASS)—Jose Eduardo dos Santos, chairman of the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] Labor Party and president of the People's Republic of Angola, received A.L. Adamishin, deputy USSR foreign minister, in Luanda on Monday.

They exchanged opinions on the development of the situation in southern Africa and on the state of affairs in the talks between Angola, Cuba, and the RSA, with the United States mediating, on a peaceful settlement in southwest Africa. They expressed the unanimous opinion that progress toward untangling the knot of conflict that has formed in the region, through political means by way of talks and taking into account the interests of all sides, has become irreversible.

They discussed several issues of bilateral relations, developing on the summit meeting in Moscow in October between M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and J.E. dos Santos, chairman of the MPLA-Labor Party and president of the People's Republic of Angola.

Taking part in the conversation were also A. Van Dunem, member of the Politburo of the MPLA-Labor Party Central Committee and Angolan minister of foreign relations, and V.N. Kazimirov, USSR ambassador to Angola.

TASS Notes Negotiations on Angola Suspended

LD0412132288 Moscow TASS in English 1309 GMT 4 Dec 88

[Text] Brazzaville December 4 TASS—The U.S.-mediated negotiations to involve Angola, Cuba and the Republic of South Africa, held here, were suspended today because of the unexpected departure of the South African delegation.

Early this morning representatives of Pretoria unexpectedly flew out of Brazzaville for "consultations with their government", as journalists were told. As a result of this move, the signing of the respective document has not occurred as yet. All of the rest delegations, including the mediator, are still in Brazzaville.

At an urgently convened news conference here Venancio de Moura, Angolan deputy foreign minister, said that the Angolan and Cuban delegations were informed about the sudden departure of the South African delegation through the mediator. This decision in conditions when the Brazzaville protocol was virtually harmonized and ready for signature was an unexpected event for us, he said. At the same time the Angolan deputy foreign minister expressed confidence that the South African delegation would return to the negotiating table.

Suspension of Talks on Namibia Discussed

LD0412235288 Moscow in Portuguese to Africa 1830 GMT 4 Dec 88

[Excerpts] [Announcer Igor Potovskiy] Unfortunately, the pessimistic forecasts concerning the process of normalizing the situation in southwest Africa have been justified at this stage. In effect unsurmountable problems emerged at the last round of quadripartite talks which were suspended in Brazzaville. They concern the monitoring of the Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola. South Africa demanded the right to sanction the monitoring procedure. At first sight this would appear to be a purely technical problem, but in this instance it seems to be a mere pretext. A Cuban diplomat at the talks said that South Africa was deliberately steering the talks into an impasse. He added that the issue was not on the agenda because it was a matter for the exclusive jurisdiction of Angola, Cuba, and the United Nations, and should not be an obstacle to drawing up an agreement on southwest Africa.

There is every indication that the problem was raised in order to meet the South African Government's domestic political aims. In effect, the attention devoted by the Botha government to the monitoring question is totally disproportionate to its actual significance. It would be much more apposite to raise the question of the sincerety of Pretoria's stated intentions with regard to regional normalization. Has Pretoria not sabotaged it?

When all is said and done, apart from this imaginary difficulty concerning monitoring, there exist very real factors of instability. AFP quotes observers in Johannesburg as saying that the greatest potential threat to peace in the region is the UNITA factor, more specifically the question of national reconciliation in Angola. I spoke about this to Paulino Pinto Joao, the director of the Information and Propaganda Department of the MPLA-Labor Party Central Committee:

[Begin recording] [Joao] One of the aspects that must be considered is the stand of the United States and South Africa on continuing support for the UNITA armed bandits, and on the continuing support for Savimbi. This is one of the points in relation to which Angola stands firm and would wish to see the said two countries publicly declare that they are cutting off assistance of any kind to the armed bandits who are sowing instability in our country. This would enable the Government of the People's Republic of Angola to implement its program of peace and national harmony. [passage omitted]

As we have repeatedly stated, the Angolan problem has domestic and external factors, and the latter weigh much more heavily than the former. Instability, war, and destruction in Angola are being fostered by South Africa. If South Africa desists from all such forms of aggression, the situation in Angola will be clarified and the Angolans will be able to resolve the domestic question by themselves.

The solution to the domestic question has pracitcally already been found. We do not speak of national reconciliation but of national harmonization, a wider concept entailing the full reintegration of all Angolans who have or will desist from armed opposition to the instituted government of our country and who honestly choose to be reintegrated into Angolan society. This is the formula we have found for resolving the domestic question, with

regard to which we do not believe negotiations to be necessary insofar as all Angolans without any discrimination whatsoever are being offered the chance to return to their country, rejoin Angolan society, and work, provided, of course, that they respect the constitution of the People's Republic of Angola and the instituted political power. These are the only conditions.

[Potovskiy] Savimbi has met Pieter Botha and the results of the meeting were not such as to enable us to definitely conclude that South Africa's assistance will cease.

[Joao] You know, the balance of forces at this point is not favorable toward South Africa, and I believe that it would be a suicidal policy for South Africa to continue fomenting tension in southern Africa, especially in the southwest. So, whatever conclusions are drawn from the Botha-Savimbi meeting, one thing is certain: In the present situation, South Africa will not be able to continue its policy of aggression with impunity. This is because the situation, both in South Africa proper and in the southwestern sub-region, is not favorable to Pretoria. For this very reason we are convinced that once accords are concluded leading to the independence of Namibia, South Africa will find itself forced to desist—if not totally, at least in part—from any support for the UNITA armed bandits.

What we would like to see would be for such a cessation of support to be publicly announced and be made component of the entire negotiation process.

[Potovskiy] But can you expect the problem to be resolved once definitive quadripartite accords are signed? I am asking this question because, as everyone knows, the Nkomati Accord was signed 4 years ago and remains unimplemented. [passage omitted]

[Joao] What we can say is this. We are all aware of the experience of the Nkomati Accord. Both the South Africans and ourselves. And we Angolans intend not to allow the situation resulting from the nonimplementation of the Nkomati Accord to arise in the present case. Hence our concern for firmer guarantees, and for the need for international backing for an agreement. In light of the Nkomati experience, we will not allow the breach of any clause of any agreement to be signed in due course. [passage omitted] [end recording]

[Potovskiy] [passage omitted] It has often been noted of late that as far as the process of regional normalization is concerned, there is no way back for South Africa. Pretoria fully realizes that the independence of Namibia is inevitable. However, it is equally obvious that it will not be able to sabotage any settlement agreements as it has to date with regard to the Nkomati Accord. Such a step would sharply worsen South Africa's internal problems. Hence the current recourse to any chance to delay the negotiations, to bargain to the bitter end, so to speak, particularly with regard to finding ways of safeguarding UNITA's position. This is precisely the reason why substantial UNITA contingents are being moved into Namibia, to the Caprivi Strip—to maintain the routes through which South Africa channels its support.

As for a future independent Namibia, South Africa says that only a government loyal to Pretoria will be given access to Walvis Bay, the country's only deepwater port, and therefore of the utmost economic importance. But there is nothing new in this attitude, and the supplementary consultations to come are unlikely to change anything as far as the South African Government is concerned.

South African Nuclear Program Assessed

WA18010272 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Nov 88 First Edition p 5

[Article by General Major (Reserve) F. Gontar: "Positions and Ambitions. Will It Be Possible To Prevent the Spread of Nuclear Weapons?: 3. The Republic of South Africa: A Challenge to All Peoples"; the first two articles in the series, on Pakistan and Israel, appeared respectively in the 23 and 29 November Soviet Union DAILY REPORTs both on page 24]

[Text] This fall the 32d session of the General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency (MAGATE) was held in Vienna. Delegations from more than 100 countries took part. At the center of attention of the session were questions associated with further strengthening the international policy of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. A sharp discussion developed on the question of the nuclear potential of the Republic of South Africa. Many delegates noted in their addresses that the acquisition of a nuclear military capability by the racist regime represents a serious threat to peace and international security, and increases the danger of the spread of nuclear weapons.

The first rather complete assessment of the nuclear potential of the Republic of South Africa was made by a group of prominent experts from a number of countries back in 1980. Two circumstances were the reason for this.

The first was the 1977 satellite detection of a South African atomic test site in the Kalahari desert. This fact, which caused serious concern in the international community, was reported in the world press. The construction and nature of the test site facilities indicated quite obviously that preparations for underground testing of a nuclear device were in full swing in the Republic of South Africa. Let us recall the TASS statement of 9 August 1977: "The appearance of nuclear weapons in the hands of the racist regime in Pretoria would create the most direct threat to the security of the African states, lead to a sharp escalation of the instability and tension in southern Africa, and increase the nuclear threat to all mankind. By embarking upon the creation of nuclear weapons, the Republic of South Africa hurls a challenge to all peoples."

The second was the report that on 22 September 1979 the Republic of South Africa had tested a nuclear device in the South Atlantic, with a yield of approximately 2-4 kilotons. The "dual light flash" characteristic of a nuclear explosion was established at that time by a special apparatus mounted on an American Veda satellite.

The fact that the Republic of South Africa had conducted an explosion was also confirmed by a number of indirect data:

—The nuclear research institute in Wellington, New Zealand reported that it had detected traces of radioactive precipitation in rain.

—A radar station in Arecibo, Puerto Rico registered ionospheric disturbances that day, moving from southeast to northwest.

—A Republic of South Africa naval task force was located in the presumed area of the nuclear explosion.

By the moment construction of the atomic test site in Kalahari was completed in August 1977, the Republic of South Africa had sufficient "weapons" quality uranium to make one or two atomic bombs. By mid-1979, that is, the time of the nuclear test, approximately 130 kg of such uranium could have been amassed in the Republic of South Africa, which is enough to make several atomic weapons.

The following facilities play an important role in the creation of the atomic military capability of the Republic of South Africa:

—the national nuclear research center in the Pelindaba area. There an Oak Ridge type 20,000 kwt scientific research nuclear reactor is in operation, called Safari-1. It is noteworthy that it was acquired in the United States.

—the complex of uranium enrichment facilities in Walindaba. Isotope-235 enrichment of uranium is carried out here by an original aerodynamic method, with the use of so-called "vortex atomizers." The press reported that, using this method, both slightly enriched uranium, suitable for manufacturing the heat releasing elements of atomic electric power plants, and highly enriched, "weapons" quality uranium, necessary for manufacturing nuclear weapons, can be obtained. According to the data of foreign specialists, the amount of "weapons" uranium that could have been obtained in the factory in Walindaba is sufficient to make up to 20 nuclear weapons.

—An atomic electric power plant, at which there are two nuclear reactors, has been in operation in the Koberg area (on the coast north of Cape Town) since 1984. In them, according to foreign press data, up to two tons of "energy-producing" plutonium could have been obtained.

The fact that the South African authorities stubbornly refuse to permit inspections by MAGATE of the work of the uranium enrichment facilities in Walindaba, also calls attention to itself. Foreign specialists see in this yet another confirmation of the fact that production of uranium intended for use in nuclear weapons is being carried out there.

The world community received not without alarm the report in the West German journal DER SPIEGEL in March of this year that the Republic of South Africa is delivering part of its highly enriched uranium to Israel within the framework of nuclear cooperation between the two countries. "This cooperation," writes DER SPIEGEL, "is a most carefully preserved secret of the alliance between Israel and the Republic of South Africa." The journal emphasizes that "the development of nuclear weapons technology is an essential element in the strategy of both countries." In exchange for the "weapons" uranium delivered to Israel, the Republic of South Africa receives various types of weapons, including [Ierikhon] Jericho-type missiles, and Kfir fighter-bombers, which can be used as nuclear weapons delivery means. DER SPIEGEL does not exclude the possibility that the "light flash" in the South Atlantic in September 1979 was actually the result of a nuclear bomb test conducted jointly by Israel and the Republic of South Africa.

The unseemly position taken by a number of Western countries, especially the United States, cannot but pander to the nuclear ambitions of the South African racists. In this regard, the admission by Dr. A. Ru, former chairman of the Republic of South Africa Atomic Energy Council, is noteworthy: "I can say that, to a substantial degree, we are indebted for our present achievements to the fact that the United States so readily helped train our cadres, and assisted us in the first years of implementation of our nuclear program, when several Western countries collaborated in familiarizing our scientists and engineers with nuclear physics." From 1957 through 1975, a total of more than a hundred South African specialists underwent training in nuclear physics and technology in the United States.

A factor contributing to the development of the nuclear capability of the Republic of South Africa is that, taking Namibia into account, it has up to 20 percent of the natural uranium produced in the capitalist countries. The bulk of the uranium mined in the country is exported to the United States, Great Britain, France, and the FRG.

As we see, the Republic of South Africa possesses a definite potential for producing nuclear weapons and their delivery means. Minister of Foreign Affairs R. Botha even confirmed this. It is noteworthy that, according to an ASSOCIATED PRESS report, he refused to say whether his country possesses nuclear weapons at this time.

The racist policy of the South African rulers is the root cause of the threatening situation that has been observed for many years already in southern Africa. The neighboring African countries, and broad masses of the indigenous population of the Republic of South Africa, are opposing ever more resolutely their aggressive policy and apartheid. Therefore, the appearance of nuclear weapons in the hands of the racists would heat to the maximum the situation in the region and cause serious harm to the efforts of the international community in the field of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

Taking all this into account, it was decided at the September session of the MAGATE General Conference, as with respect to Israel, to examine the question of the nuclear threat and nuclear potential of the Republic of South Africa at the scheduled 33d session of this agency.

Thus, primarily Pakistan, Israel, and the Republic of South Africa—states that are conducting policies of aggression and gross interference in the affairs of neighboring countries—are engaged in the development and production of their own nuclear weapons, and refuse to join the international treaty on its non-proliferation. In this extremely dangerous matter they enjoy the obvious connivance, and at times also the support, of the NATO powers, especially the United States. The threat of the spread of nuclear weapons is becoming quite real.

Displaying profound concern about the fate of mankind, our country declares energetically that it has done and will do everything in its power, not only to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons, but to stop the nuclear arms race and turn it back.

East Europe

Zaykov Opens Prague Festival in Moscow

PM0612161588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Dec 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading: "Opening of Prague Festival in Moscow"]

[Text] The festive opening of the Prague Festival in Moscow on 5 December evolved into a vivid celebration of the unbreakable friendship between the USSR and Czechoslovak peoples and the fruitful cooperation between the two capitals.

Representatives of the Moscow public and labor collectives and figures from the sphere of science and culture assembled at the State Central Concert Hall. Also present was a delegation from Prague headed by M. Stepan, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the capital's city party committee; CSSR Ambassador to the Soviet Union J. Rehorek; and other Czechoslovak guests.

L.N. Zaykov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom, addressed those assembled. We have come together, he noted, at a time when profound processes of renewal of the political system and of socioeconomic relations are under way in the Soviet Union and the CSSR. The cooperation between the two fraternal capitals and their party organizations is making an active contribution to the speediest achievement of specific results from restructuring.

L.N. Zaykov declared the Prague Festival open.

Having thanked Muscovites for the warm and cordial reception, M. Stepan expressed confidence that the Prague Festival in Moscow will open new horizons for the expansion of friendly ties between the two cities.

The evening ended with a festive gala concert, including performances by leading Czechoslovak artists. Over a period of 5 days Moscow will be the venue for meetings between labor collectives, party, soviet, and economic officials, young people, and trade union aktiv members from the two capitals. Topical questions of renewal will be discussed by participants in an ideological seminar. There is a diverse range of cultural events, including exhibitions and concerts, performances by leading Prague theaters, and the screening of new movies made by the "Barandov" Movie Studio.

CSSR Representative Ends Visit

LD0612223288 Prague CTK in English 2147 GMT 6 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow Dec 6 (CTK correspondent)—Presidium member of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and head secretary of the party Prague City Committee Miroslav Stepan today ended his visit to Moscow and left here for Prague.

In the Soviet capital he attended the opening of the Days of Prague in Moscow which will last till December 9.

The Czechoslovak guest was seen off by Chairman of the Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee Valeriy Saykin and other officials.

CSSR Party Official Holds Talks in USSR

CPCZ's Janak Arrives on Visit

LD0412201988 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1700 GMT 4 Dec 88

[Text] Ignac Janak, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, arrived for a working visit in the Soviet Union today.

The aim of his visit is an exchange of experiences gained in the process of implementing new forms and methods of party work after the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference and in fulfiling the conclusions of sessions of the CPCZ and CPSU Central Committee.

During the visit ideas concerning the development of cooperation between Slovakia and the Soviet Ukraine will be considered.

Razumovskiy Meets With Janak

PM0612162388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Dec 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Developing Cooperation"]

[Text] G.P. Razumovskiy, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, met on 5 December with I. Janak, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the Slovak Communist Party, who is on a working visit to Moscow.

During the conversation, which took place in a warm friendly atmosphere, G.P. Razumovskiy spoke of the measures to implement political reform in the sphere of state building adopted in line with the decisions made at the CPSU Central Committee November Plenum and the 12th Extraordinary Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

I. Janak described the CPCZ's work to accelerate the country's socioeconomic development and the democratization of social life.

There was also a discussion of the problems of deepening cooperation between the CPSU and the CPCZ and between the USSR and the CSSR in the political, economic, and ideological spheres.

Shcherbitskiy Meets CSSR's Janak

LD0712025288 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 6 Dec 8

[Text] Comrade Shcherbitskiy, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, today met in Kiev with Janak, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the Slovak Communist Party, who is in the Soviet Union on a working visit. During the conversation, the sides noted with satisfaction that the program of ideological cooperation signed recently in Prague between the CPSU and the Czechoslovak Communist Party extends the opportunities for activating the exchange of experience in developing the cooperation of the party committees of the two fraternal parties, and will facilitate the strengthening of Soviet-Czechoslovak friendship.

Katushev Holds Talks With CSSR's Sterba

LD0412205088 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1900 GMT 4 Dec 88

[Text] Jan Sterba, Czechoslovak minister of foreign trade, has had talks in Moscow with Konstantin Katushev, Soviet minister for foreign economic relations. They examined the tasks concerning the intensification and improvement of Czechoslovak-Soviet trade and economic cooperation on the basis of progressive forms, and specific issues concerning trade exchanges between both countries in 1989.

Grosz Cited on Hungarian 'Renewal' Process

PM0612160588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Dec 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Following a Course of Renewal"]

[Text] Budapest, 4 Dec—The Hungarian National Trade Union Conference ended in Budapest today. Its delegates represented more than 4 million of the country's working people. K. Grosz, general secretary of the MSZMP; M. Nemeth, chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers; and other party and state leaders participated in the work of the forum.

Addressing the conference, MSZMP General Secretary K. Grosz emphasized that the MSZMP is interested in a trade union movement which has deserved prestige, a mass base, an independent political face, and its own concept of protecting the working people's interests.

This Hungarian trade union forum, he pointed out, is an important stage of political renewal in society. It is a positive fact that there is a great will for transformations throughout the country. Although it is as yet difficult to measure the results, it can already be seen that the country is moving in the right direction. The chief thing in the further democratic development of Hungary is the modernization of the existing political institutions.

Summing up the conference, S. Nagy, general secretary of the Hungarian National Trade Union Council, emphasized the great significance of preserving unity in the Hungarian trade union movement. New unity must be based not on a centrally established organizational structure but on the commonality of the aims and thoughts of various detachments of Hungarian working people and on their real cohesion and solidarity.

PRAVDA Cites Grosz Address to Budapest Aktiv

PM0212151588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Dec 88 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report: "K. Grosz Speech"]

[Text] Budapest, 1 Dec— The Hungarian people will continue to advance consistently along the path of socialist development and build a society that ensures opportunities for the extensive display of the working masses'

creative energy. Our aim is to build socialism in more democratic ways. This was stated by MSZMP General Secretary K. Grosz when he addressed a meeting of the Budapest party organization aktiv.

The Hungarian leader covered in detail the basic aspects of the country's domestic political situation. Recently, he said, the level of society's political activity has grown markedly. Most people who really think are seeking the kind of changes and renewal which will maintain the continuity of the values of the past 40 years. They do not reject socialism but the political model which typified the country from 1948 through 1956. At the same time, as subsequent practice failed to provide guarantees against new manifestations of subjectivism, it is essential that the vestiges and consequences of the Stalinist model be completely eliminated.

The MSZMP general secretary pointed to the activation of forces intent on underming the leadership's authority and destroying the system of political institutions by exploiting reform slogans and making unjustified demands. He stated that MSZMP members represent the country's future under conditions of a one-party system, while at the same time it was impossible to deny from a juridical standpoint the creation of a multiparty system in Hungary. Parties opposed to socialism will not receive the freedom or the opportunity for activity. The MSZMP will continue to wage an open struggle against ultrarightist and reactionary forces.

K. Grosz paid great attention to questions concerned with improving party work, closing party ranks, and enhancing Communists' personal responsibility for their assigned work.

Weekly on Hungary-Romania Diplomatic Incident

PM0612120688 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 7 Dec 88 p 9

[Unattributed report under the rubric "We Report the Details": "On a Diplomatic Incident Between Romania and Hungary"]

[Text] On 19 November a statement was issued by the Romanian Foreign Ministry in connection with an incident in Bucharest involving a Hungarian diplomat; the statement said, in particular, that on 14 November a number of complaints from Romanian citizens were received by militia organs in the capital. They reported that pamphlets of anti-Romanian, antisocialist content, containing insulting statements about party and state policy, were being distributed from a car with a diplomatic license plate. Romanian citizens managed to detain the car and hand its driver over to the organs of law and order. The militia established that the car from which the pamphlets were being distributed belongs to the Hungarian Embassy in Bucharest, and was being driven by K. Dyerfi [as transliterated], a trade counselor at the embassy. With a view to resolving the incident in the spirit of Romania's consistent policy of developing relations of friendship and goodneighborliness between the two countries, it was proposed to the Hungarian Foreign Ministry that the Hungarian diplomat be recalled. In the evening of 18 November the Hungarian Foreign Ministry, it was later reported, had published a statement defending the hostile actions of the Hungarian diplomat, in complete contradiction to irrefutable facts, and accusing the Romanian authorities, without any justification. In view of the provocative actions committed by the Hungarian diplomat and of the fact that he had not been recalled, the Romanian Foreign Ministry informed the Hungarian Foreign Ministry that K. Dyerfi has been declared persona non grata and should leave Romanian territory within 3 days.

On 19 November the Hungarian news agency MTI, citing a Hungarian Foreign Ministry statement, reported that Romanian officials had carried out a provocation against a diplomat working at the Hungarian Embassy in Bucharest. After forcing him to stop his car, militia staffers, despite the identification that was offered to them, did not allow him to continue his journey and did not permit him to contact the Hungarian Embassy. The counselor was first accused of driving a stolen car, and later of being responsible for a serious accident. In the end he was accused of scattering pamphlets from his car into the streets "inciting people against the Romanian state and Romanian state and party leaders." The Hungarian diplomat was unlawfully held by the militia for 6 hours, and his car was thoroughly searched and photographed. The Hungarian Foreign Ministry stated decisively in its memorandum that the accusations against counselor K. Dyerfi are entirely groundless, and the Romanian side's actions are a gross provocation, damaging to the already strained relations between the two countries. The Hungarian Foreign Ministry demanded that an investigation be held into the case, that the culprits be brought to account, and that the political, moral, and material damage be rectified.

As the agency MTI reported on 24 November, the Hungarian Foreign Ministry has announced its decision, by way of retaliation, to declare persona non grata counselor P. Platonu, a diplomat at the Romanian Embassy in Romania, who was instructed to leave the country within 72 hours.

PZPR's Czyrek Receives RSFSR Delegation

PM0612111688 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 4 Dec 88 Second Edition p 5

[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, TASS report under the rubric "RSFSR Days in Poland": "The Peoples' Handshake"]

[Text] In connection with the RSFSR Days being held in Poland, J. Czyrek, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, received L.B. Yermin, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, the leader of an RSFSR delegation, as well as the

members of the delegation—Ye.M. Chekharin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, and Yu.S. Melentyev, RSFSR minister of culture.

An exchange of opinions took place on topical questions of the political, economic, social, and cultural life of the USSR and Poland. It was emphasized that there has been a considerable stepping up of cultural cooperation and exchange, and that this was given a powerful boost as a result of the signing of the Declaration on Soviet-Polish Cooperation in the sphere of Ideology, Science, and Culture. In both countries there is increased interest in each other's achievements in the sphere of artistic creativity, literature, cinema, theater, and music. Satisfaction was expressed over the expansion of direct exchange and various forms of cultural cooperation on the part of cities, oblasts, and voivodships that maintain partnership links. In the course of the meeting it was noted that culture plays a special part in the role of rapprochement between the two fraternal peoples. The RSFSR Days in Poland serve this goal.

R. Malinowski, marshal of the Polish Sejm and chairman of the National Council of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society, yesterday met with the RSFSR delegation headed by L.B. Yermin, first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, which is taking part in the RSFSR Days in Poland. Taking part in the talk were members of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society leadership headed by H. Bednarski, chairman of the society's main board. R. Malinowski briefed the guests on the preparations for the 12th Polish-Soviet Friendship Society Congress and the diverse activity of this mass social organization. He also briefed them on the work of the Polish Sejm.

The head of the Soviet delegation spoke about the implementation of restructuring in all spheres of sociopolitical and socioeconomic life in the Soviet Union, including the RSFSR, and the putting into practice of the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th all-union party conference by the working people of the Russian Federation.

Soviet-Polish History Commission Discusses Katyn

PM0512141588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
3 Dec 88 Second Edition p 4

[Unattributed report: "Cooperation by Historians"]

[Text] The third sitting of the commission of USSR and Polish scientists on the history of relations between the two countries, set up in accordance with the 21 April 1987 Declaration on Soviet-Polish Cooperation in the Sphere of Ideology, Science, and Culture, was held in Moscow 29 November-1 December.

Taking part in the sittings were: On the Soviet side—G.L. Smirnov (chairman of the Soviet part of the commission), V.V. Zhuravlev, T.V. Porfiryeva, B.S. Popov, A.O. Chubaryan, Ye.M. Kozhevnikov, V.K. Volkov, V.S. Parsadanova, O.A. Rzheshevskiy, I.S. Yazhborovskaya, V.O. Daynes, Ye.A. Skripilev, P.F. Kazin, R.A. Yermolayeva, and V.S. Nevolina; and on the Polish side—J. Maciszewski (chairman of the Polish part of the commission), W. Kowalski, E. Kozlowski, M. Kuczinski, M. Leczik, C. Luczak, C. Madajczyk, R. Nazarewicz, K. Sobczak, B. Syzdek, T. Walichnowski, and M. Wojciechowski.

The two sides exchanged information on the progress of scientific research and archive searches, and heard reports on the eight working meetings held since the second sitting and concerning specific problems of Soviet-Polish relations in 1917-1945.

An examination was made of a joint document entitled "The Eve and Start of World War II," work on which ought to be completed in the immediate future. The commission members emphasized the need to have archive materials made more widely accessible to enable the fulfillment of the set tasks.

The commission concluded its examination on the topic of "The Comintern and the Polish Communist Party." A book entitled "Lenin on Poland and the Polish Workers Movement," considerably enriched with new documents, will soon be published in the USSR and Poland. Reports on the resettlement and deportation of Polish population from the territories of West Belorussia and West Ukraine to eastern regions of the USSR are ready to go to press.

The commission members familiarized themselves with an expert study prepared on the basis of Western and Polish sources concerning the fate of Polish officers interned in 1939 who died at Katyn, and agreed that this question needs further thorough study.

The commission discussed the question of the fate of Soviet prisoners of war on Polish soil during World War II and the assistance they received from the Polish population. There was an analysis of progress on the bilateral collective works "International Cooperation Between the CPSU and the PZPR: Past and Present," "Soviet-Polish Relations, 1917-1921," and others.

The commission's next sitting will be held in Warsaw in May-June 1989.

PRAVDA Cites Honecker SED Plenum Report

PM0512112988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
2 Dec 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Following Coordinated Course"]

[Excerpts] Berlin, 1 Dec—Today the SED Central Committee plenum began its work. E. Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, delivered the Politburo report. Stressing the great significance of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, he

indicated that the progress of disarmament in the nuclear sphere and its spread to conventional weapons will strengthen the positions of all those who see the elimination of the nuclear threat and the reduction of conventional weapons as a fundamental prerequisite for mankind's survival.

In the context of the positive changes in the international situation, E. Honecker said further, it is incomprehensible that the FRG Government, while verbally advocating peace with the least number of weapons, is in fact is blocking the detent process. How else can one assess the fact that Scholz, the new FRG defense minister, sees the nuclear deterrent as the core of NATO strategy for the future too and is even in favor of modernizing nuclear and conventional weapons.

Opposition to the growing departure from confrontation is being whipped up by those circles which profit by arms and those who do not like the borders which have emerged in Europe as a result of World War II and postwar development. [passage omitted]

E. Honecker announced the SED Central Committee Politburo's plan to convene the 12th SED Congress 15-19 May 1990 in Berlin.

In implementing its economic strategy, the GDR leader continued, the SED is proceeding from the premise that the USSR was and remains the republic's main partner. Our activity is directed toward achieving the highest economic results, deepening cooperation, and increasing reciprocal trade turnover.

GDR Leaders Meet With Poland's Rakowski

PM0712141388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
6 Dec 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Visit to the GDR"]

[Text] Berlin, 5 Dec—E. Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, received here today M. Rakowski, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, who is on a 1-day friendly working visit to the GDR.

The sides spoke in favor of further strengthening and developing the fraternal alliance between the two states on the basis of the dependable cooperation between the SED and the PZPR and affirmed their countries' unwavering resolve to continue, together with the USSR and the other fraternal states, to actively cooperate in eliminating the military threat and rendering irreversible the progress achieved in the international arena thanks to the start of nuclear disarmament.

On the same day, M. Rakowski had a meeting with W. Stoph, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers. The sides spoke in favor of further intensifying and increasing the efficiency of the development of diverse contacts between the GDR and Poland, emphasizing the need to step up reciprocal exchange of experience.

Roundtable Examines History of USSR-SFRY Ties

PM0712140788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
6 Dec 88 Second Edition p 4

[Unattributed report: "'Roundtable' Session"]

[Text] Sessions of the Soviet-Yugoslav "Roundtable" on the subject "Political Lessons From the Conflict Between the Yugoslav Communist Party and the Informburo (1948-1953)" were held in Moscow 2-3 December. Taking part in the scientific debate was a delegation from the Social Studies Center under the LCY Central Committee Presidium comprising Professor Radovan Radonic of Titograd University, member of the LCY Central Committee; Professor Vekoslava Mikecina of Zagreb University; and Professor Branko Petranovic of Belgrade University; and also scientists from the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences and the USSR Academy of Sciences. The meeting discussed topical questions of scientific socialism, the theory and practice of international socialist relations, and the history and contemporary development of the international communist and workers movement.

The representatives of the USSR and Yugoslavia were unanimous that the modern processes of renewal and restructuring of socialism also stem from the lessons of a series of tragic events in the mutual relations between socialist countries, the first of which—chronologically and in terms of the number of parties involved in it and the ferocity of ideological polemics—was the 1948-1953 conflict. The representatives also agree that the reforming of the socioeconomic and political structures of collectivist society in line with the experience of world socialism's development and the demands of the age of the scientific and technical revolution is called upon to rule out any possibility of naturally emerging differences in the policy of socialist states evolving into antagonistic relations. The "roundtable" participants were also unanimous in recognizing the historic importance of the principles of relations between the communist and workers parties in socialist countries as laid down in the 1955 and 1956 Belgrade and Moscow Declarations and the 1988 Soviet-Yugoslav Declaration on the results of the official visit by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to the SFRY. A mutual desire to publish the "roundtable" materials in both the USSR and the SFRY was expressed.

Radovan Radonic, head of the Yugoslav delegation, was received at the CPSU Central Committee Ideological Department, and the delegation as a whole was received at the International Department.

Article Analyzes Economic Problems in SFRY

PM0512123788 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 2 Dec 88 Single Edition p 5

[S. Gryzunov article under the rubric "Yugoslavia: Reforms Against Crisis": "Bread and Reason"]

[Text] Belgrade-Moscow—The aircraft was taxiing toward the Surcin Airport building when the voice of a stewardess was heard in the cabin: "Esteemed passengers, we remind you that today's cost of the airport tax is 24,000 dinars." The reader has probably noticed the unusual formulation in the stewardess' announcement—"today's cost." These words mirrored the present state of the Yugoslav economy. What is this state? The ordinary consumer answers this question as soon as he opens his purse. I do not know whether it is a Yugoslav invention, but employees in all the local stores are armed with an instrument resembling the ticket punches of railroad conductors. They use them to stick new price tickets onto goods.

Click! And a new price appears on a pork chop neatly wrapped in cellophane. Higher than the old one, of course. The characteristic clicking is an unfailing background sound in Belgrade supermarkets. Click! And the customer places home-produced "Kackaval" cheese in his string bag with a sigh instead of imported "Parmesan." True, he has a big choice. Decide for yourselves which is better: inexpensive basic goods, but a constant shortage of them, as in our country, or high prices and a wide range? The second model is current in Yugoslavia today.

The thing is that prices in the country are rising nonstop, and inflation has reached an unprecedented level, standing at 170 percent last year and approaching the 250 mark this year. A Yugoslav now spends 70 percent of his income on food, while real wages are falling. True, it has to be pointed out—Zivorad Djordjevic, republic secretary (minister—S.G.) for information of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, explained to me—that many Yugoslavs live not on their wages alone. The majority of present city dwellers have come from the countryside. And life in the countryside today is easier than in the city. Kinship ties make a considerable contribution to smoothing the problem of rising prices for basic foodstuffs. In addition, the practice of a family member making additional earnings after his main job has become traditional and widespread.

How much does the average Belgrade family earn and on what do they spend their money? The Perisic family live in a three-room apartment (38 square meters) on Lenin Avenue in Novi Beograd. There are four of them: father Djordje (39 years old), mother Dusanka (38), daughter Nada (15), and son Zoran (13). Djordje, a theatrical scene painter, makes 340,000 dinars, and Dusanka, a dental technician, makes 320,000 dinars. Some 160,000 dinars a month goes on paying off credit. This leaves 500,000 dinars among four.

"We spend most on food. One kg of tomatoes costs 1,500 dinars, and a loaf of bread the same. And we need at least two of them a day," Dusanka said. "As for spiritual food, an issue of POLITIKA costs 800 dinars, and a weekly magazine 1,500 dinars. We have not bought any books for a long time but borrow them from friends and acquaintances."

Living standards in Yugoslavia are measured in consumption of bread, not meat or butter. True, a distinct social differentiation is discernible among the republics. In Macedonia, for example, the statistically average family eats 41 kg of bread a month, but in Slovenia only 19 kg.

It is precisely bread that has divided Yugoslavs into rich and poor today. This has happened because several kinds are baked here: white and black, the price of which is high, and the so-called half-white "popular" bread, the price of 1 kg of which is three, five, or seven times less than that of white bread. This difference is accounted for by the fact that the prices of half-white bread are administratively controlled, whereas the prices of the remaining types of loaves and sticks are set by the bakers. As a result, half-white bread, which does not give bakers a profit, has become a scarce commodity, above all for the poorest section of Yugoslav society. Only a couple of years ago I would buy hot, steaming bread—both white and "popular"—and I do not remember any lines forming there like they do now.

I well remember how 2 years ago everyone was animatedly commenting on the issuing of a new 5,000-dinar bank note. Today I have been paid a per diem allowance in 50,000-dinar notes. Notes of 10 and 20 dinars, which were current only yesterday, have simply disappeared from circulation. Velemir Drecun, general director of the treasury of the National Bank of Yugoslavia, reported in a TANJUG interview that conditions are also ripe for issuing still larger denominations—100,000 dinars and more.

I repeat, however, that no one has yet died of starvation in Yugoslavia. But there is a million-strong army of unemployed in the country among an able-bodied population of 7.5 million. At the same time newspapers publish entire pages of job vacancy advertisements. According to statistical data, 60 percent of Yugoslavs live "on the brink of poverty, or in poverty." But there is another side to the coin—the 10 percent of Yugoslav investors who own 80 percent of all bank investments. Such are the paradoxes.

It is precisely the acute and unresolved nature of the economic problems that is at the center of the present popular discontent. Yugoslavia is undoubtedly living through a crucial stage in its social development today. The serious difficulties of a socioeconomic nature which have accumulated since the end of the seventies have

exacerbated the internal political situation. The continuing process of the forcible eviction of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo is making a considerable contribution to exacerbating the crisis, which term has become a firm part of the everyday vocabulary of Yugoslav politicians and journalists. This eviction is taking place under the slogan "for an ethnically pure Kosovo" advanced by Albanian nationalists and separatists, and it is precisely the Albanians who make up the overwhelming majority of the population of this long-suffering province.

When I was in Pristina, the capital of Kosovo, a few years ago, I heard a colleague there say this: "These are the very Balkans that Europe abhors and Yugoslavia is ashamed of." Time has passed, and the sense of shame has evolved into resolute demands from the public, the party, and the country's leadership to put an end to this protracted affair.

Evidence of this is provided by the recent thousands-strong demonstrations in Pristina and the 1.5-million-strong rally in Belgrade, which TANJUG called "a rally of solidarity with the Serbs and Montenegrins of Kosovo and of the fraternity and unity of all the peoples and ethnic groups of Yugoslavia who consider themselves citizens of this country."

And yet it is not these events but the crisis that has caused the manifestation of discontent by the broad people's masses. The economic and political crisis. The new exacerbation of the situation in a province that is backward compared with other regions is merely an accelerator of events. Just as much, in my opinion, as the growth of national consciousness in Slovenia. This socialist republic is called the Yugoslav "north," just as Kosovo is called the "south." Complex and ambiguous processes are taking place here too, in the most economically developed region of the federation. The number of informal unions and associations is growing. The Slovenian Peasant Union and the Slovenian Peasant Youth Union, for example. The republic's intelligentsia is demanding the convening of a Slovenian cultural congress and the establishment of the "Slovenian Democratic Union of Reason." When discussing changes to the SFRY Constitution, Slovenians insisted on holding a referendum with regard to additions to the republic constitution. The Yugoslav mass media likened to a bombshell the appearance of Milovan Djilas, former member of the LCY Central Committee Politburo, before students of Maribor University. The Belgrade newspaper POLITIKA EKSPRES reported that this speech, which was later broadcast over Eurovision channels without any commentary, was used "to swill the name of Yugoslavia all over Europe."

J. Stanovnik, president of the republic Presidency, poured oil on the flames by making, in the assessment of the press, a number of "irresponsible and harmful statements" during his recent stay in the United States, bringing forth an avalanche of indignation from Yugoslav working people.

In short, the question of SFRY unity—and this is the common destiny of its peoples—is as topical today as ever. Here is what J. Pleterski, an eminent scientist and historian and member of the Slovenian Presidency, declared in this regard. Answering a question about the causes of the crisis which has recently arisen in the country, the scientist said that they stem from unresolved problems. But there can be no question of the socialist system in Yugoslavia becoming obsolete. It is now a question of channeling all the forces of Yugoslav society into the renewal of socialism, resolving the economic tasks as quickly as possible, and putting an end to negative phenomena.

Precisely the economy is in first place on the triune list of the reforms on whose threshold the multinational Yugoslav community stands. The government has approved the document "Fundamentals of the Reform of the Economic System" and submitted it to the SFRY Assembly for examination. The great importance of this reform is borne out by the assessment made at the recent joint session of the SFRY Presidency and Government—"the country's fate depends on its successful realization."

I heard about the aims of restructuring in the country's national economy from the lips of one of the authors of this program document—Oskar Kovac, member of the Federal Executive Council. They point to the creation of a single domestic market with all the attributes of its functioning. It is a question not only of a market for goods and services but also all production factors—capital, manpower, knowledge, natural resources, and also securities.

A major innovation is the departure from the former concept of public ownership ("common and no one's") and the establishment of equality of rights among different kinds of ownership. This, according to the calculations of Yugoslav experts, will make it possible to attract monetary assets into the economy and will ensure the direct participation of citizens in the management of mixed enterprises, in decisionmaking, and in the distribution of incomes. It is planned to attract the population's money and foreign capital by issuing shares. The enterprise becomes the chief economic subject which independently adopts decisions concerning its own activity and the development of forms of organizing self-management. In short, the reform eliminates administrative pressure on the economy and will make it possible to return factories and plants to those who work in them. The reform will start to be implemented 1 January 1989.

Two other reforms are associated with the fundamental changes to the economy: in the political system and in the LCY. Aleksandar Bakocevic, president of the Belgrade Assembly, said in conversation with me that the breaking of bureaucratic approaches and of bureaucratic vision is at the heart of all these reforms. And Slobodan Milosevic, president of the League of Communists of

Serbia [LCS] Central Committee Presidium, addressing a recent LCS conference, emphasized that this bureaucracy in all spheres of social life is now hindering progress and is a factor of the crisis. Bureaucracy has led to the paralysis of society, Milosevic declared. We have proved to the whole of the socialist world and the rest of the world that self-managing socialism is the most progressive society. Therefore it is our duty to reaffirm this.

S. Milosevic sees the essence of the upcoming reform in the League of Communists in ensuring that party members work among the people and not on various forums and committees "where they issue each other with certificates of confidence." The bureaucratized section of the leadership, the Serbian Communists' leader emphasized, has lost contact with the people and with ordinary party members—which, in addition to formalism in decisionmaking, has resulted in the total impotence of establishments and entire political organizations, including the League of Communists.

All my Belgrade interlocutors were unanimous on the chief point: Socialism and self-management in Yugoslavia have prospects. Whatever Western mass media may say, giving exaggerated play to such questions as "Will Yugoslavia collapse?" which have really gotten on the nerves of Yugoslavs themselves. Milojko Drulovic, member of the Presidium of the Federal Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia, said to me in this connection: "We like to engage in self-mortification. But I have no doubt that we have sufficient creative strength to overcome all difficulties."

West Europe

TASS Deputy Director on European Integration

AU2911165888 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 28 Nov 88 p 3

[Interview with Anatoliy Krasikov, TASS deputy director general, by Pavel Pisarev, TRUD's foreign policy commentator: "The European Idea of a Common House"—date, place not given]

[Excerpts] [Pisarev] As a long-time TASS representative in Paris, Rome, and Madrid, you are well-acquainted with the development of the European idea.

[Krasikov] Let us begin with the present-day situation. It was Mikhail Gorbachev who created the concept "common European house." The FRG politicians took up this idea in their search to settle their German interests through it. The Italians joined in. This idea is now gaining new supporters, such as the French, for example. Francois Mitterrand is one of the most active champions of the establishment of a "United Europe'92". There are also waverers, because certain cliches of the past have survived. [passage omitted]

[Pisarev] Can you describe the main characteristics of the European idea?

[Krasikov] I would point out two such features: The first is the understanding about the priority of universal interests, namely the postulate that the countries of Europe and the world are mutually interdependent.

The second feature is that the common European house has no anti-American connotation. There is no intention of replacing the historically established alliances of the two systems based on different social and ideological concepts. On the contrary, an intensification of mutual cooperation is required; mutual interdependence and a development of societies that does not follow parallel, historical lines are the preliminary conditions for the European concept. We are not striving for a confrontation between Western Europe, on the one hand, and the United States and Canada on the other. The only unacceptable fact is that the United States should assume the leadership of the common European house and become its only partner. [passage omitted]

[Pisarev] The West European press launched the idea of a "European Marshall Plan."

[Krasikov] The task of the Marshall Plan was to restore a devastated Europe and to make the Western part of the continent more dependent upon the United States. The Soviet Union and the European socialist countries represent a tremendous economic potential. It is a question of further intensifying this potential and of effectively developing it. Except for this, no one intends to retreat from the positions of socialism. The proposal to grant new credits to the Soviet Union amounting to approximately $10 billion (according to Western sources, the Soviet Union has received approximately $40 billion in credits in the last 10 years), and the credits amounting to approximately $110-120 billion granted to the European socialist countries are based on mutual advantage. Those who grant them and those who receive them both gain from this, as long as the credits are not used only for consumption, but for investments in the development of production and new technologies.

[Pisarev] The common European house has some cultural aspects as well.

[Krasikov] Political, economic, and cultural cooperation are developing side by side. These three baskets should be filled simultaneously. The role of culture in building the common European house is great. We have a rich cultural heritage and an active contemporary cultural life, which is now being restructured on the basis of pluralism in the political and intellectual spheres. We cannot join the common European house with the burden of the Stalinist and Zhdanovist past, with relapses into this past.

Traditional concepts are changing in the Soviet Union. We are now opening up to the world more widely. Once, Peter the Great founded Petersburg as a window to Europe. Lenin saw Russia as a modern European socialist state, and we now have the chance to mark further historic progress.

Some people understand the concept of Europe as encompassing only Western Europe. This is not logical. We are all Europeans—Russians, Ukrainians, Belorussians, Moldavians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, and other peoples of our country have greatly contributed to European civilization. Christianity united ancient Russia with Europe. This fact was emphasized by the scale of the celebrations held on the occasion of our church's millenium.

[Pisarev] You have met the pope on several occasions. What is the stand of the Vatican on problems of the common European house?

[Krasikov] In the world today there are 800 million Catholics, the majority of whom live in Europe. The Vatican is not only the spiritual and ideological center of the Catholics, but also their political center. My last meeting with Pope John Paul II, in April 1988, showed that he is ready for a dialogue on global issues of our epoch, such as peace, ecology, birthrate, and disease. Regarding contemporary problems, the Vatican is interested in a constructive approach, and not in confrontation.

[Pisarev] How is the Bulgarian participation in the common European house viewed here, in Moscow?

[Krasikov] The concept of a common European house should develop as a general movement, and not as a form of bilateral cooperation between the Soviet Union and Western Europe. Only if all European states participate in this movement by restructuring their own countries will we be able to restructure Europe as a whole, and implement the projects to construct a common European house as a real building.

Fernandez-Ordonez Prepares for Gorbachev Visit

LD0212213288 Madrid Domestic Service in Spanish 2000 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Text] Spanish diplomatic authorities in Moscow are preparing for the forthcoming visit by Mikhail Gorbachev to Spain. Correspondent Luis Serrano reports from the Soviet capital:

[Serrano] Spanish Foreign Minister Francisco Fernandez-Ordonez will pay an official visit to Moscow in the first few weeks of 1989 to settle the details of the visit by Mikhail Gorbachev to Spain, Inocencio Arias, deputy secretary of the Foreign Ministry, announced in Moscow. Arias added that the Minister will sign a bilateral social security agreement that basically will solve the problem of the pensions of former Spanish exiles and children of the war.

The deputy secretary for foreign affairs held a meeting with the Soviet first deputy foreign minister and assured him that during the forthcoming 6-month period Spain, as the country occupying the presidency of the European Community, will promote relations of the 12 with the USSR and the Eastern Bloc.

Italian Senate Committee Opposes F-16 Relocation

PM0512151488 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Dec 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "From Constructive Positions"]

[Text] Rome, 2 Dec—NATO must begin talks with the Warsaw Pact Organization on the reduction of conventional arms with a view to preventing the relocation of U.S. F-16 fighters in Italy. This proposal is contained in a draft resolution approved by the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee. It was prepared by representatives of the Italian Communist Party and the group of Left-Wing Independents.

It is well known that in accordance with agreement between the United States and Spain, these aircraft, capable of carrying nuclear weapons on board, are due to leave Spain's territory over the next 3 years and be relocated in Italy.

Submitting this draft resolution, the Italian Communist Party and the Left-Wing Independents note that Soviet leader M.S. Gorbachev proposed a similar initiative earlier. What it boils down to is that the F-16 should not be stationed in the Apennine Peninsula and that the USSR, by way of response, would withdraw its similar aviation means from their forward bases in Eastern Europe.

Italy's Foreign Minister Giulio Andreotti, who was present at the committee's session, voted in support of the document.

Further on Medvedev Delegation Visit to Portugal

Meets President Soares

LD0612133588 Moscow TASS in English 1320 GMT 6 Dec 88

[Text] Lisbon December 6 TASS—Vadim Medvedev, member of the Politbureau and secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee who led a party delegation to the 12th Congress of the Portuguese Communist Party, met President Mario Soares of Portugal on December 5.

Medvedev conveyed to Soares best regards from Mikhail Gorbachev. They had an interested and open exchange of views on a wide range of international problems, primarily European ones, as well as those connected with Soviet- Portuguese relations.

The president pointed out that Portugal is closely following processes taking place in the USSR. It regards perestroyka as the most remarkable phenomenon in the modern world. The Portuguese people appreciate your

transformations, you have many supporters both in the world and in Portugal, Soares said. He expressed high appreciation of the performance of the Soviet leadership in the sphere of disarmament and the settlement of regional conflicts, specifically, in the south of Africa.

Medvedev said that the Soviet Union and Portugal could do a great deal in the sphere of international relations. The very idea of building an all-European home extending from the Atlantic to the Urals emphasises the role of our two countries in its construction, because they form the geographic boundaries of the all-European home. The president agreed with it and pointed out that within the framework of NATO and EEC Portugal supported a constructive dialogue in all the spheres.

During the conversation they expressed mutual desire to further develop Soviet-Portuguese cooperation. Soares pointed out that the Portuguese business circles are very much interested in expanding relations with the USSR. Cultural and other contacts could also be consolidated. We should like to have the closest possible relations with the Soviet Union, the president said.

V. Kasatkin, USSR Ambassador to Portugal, took part in the conversation.

Press Reports Medvedev Activities

PM0612160188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Dec 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS reports under the general heading "Delegation Visit"]

[Excerpts] Oporto, 3 Dec—V.A. Medvedev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and head of the CPSU delegation to the 12th Portuguese Communist Party [PCP] Congress, met here today with leaders of the Portugal-USSR Society. A frank, friendly exchange of opinions was held on questions concerned with further developing relations between Portugal and the Soviet Union and the peoples of the two countries.

The Soviet Union's growing international authority and prestige are providing a good boost to increasing our society's activity, and are helping to deepen understanding between the Portuguese and Soviet peoples, society president A.A. Nunes said. People in Portugal are following the process of restructuring in your country with great interest, and we wish you success in this work of truly historic importance.

V.A. Medvedev described the profound transformations of the political and economic system taking place in the Soviet Union and the Soviet state's peace-loving course in the international arena, which is based on the new political thinking, and which creates a fine foundation for the development of fruitful cooperation with all countries, including Portugal. He stressed the need to seek new ways to deepen cultural ties between the public in the two countries. [passage omitted]

Oporto, 3 Dec—V.A. Medvedev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and head of the CPSU delegation to the 12th PCP Congress, had a friendly conversation today with Georges Marchais, secretary-general of the French Communist Party.

A meeting took place the same day with Herminio Martinho, president of the Democratic Renewal Party of Portugal.

Met by Zaykov on Return

LD0612173188 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1659 GMT 6 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow, 6 Dec (TASS)—The CPSU delegation led by Vadim Medvedev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, returned from Lisbon to Moscow today. The delegation took part in the work of the 12th Portuguese Communist Party Congress.

The delegation was met at the airport by Lev Zaykov, member of the Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and first secretary of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom, as well as by senior CPSU Central Committee officials.

Pope Receives TASS Deputy Director at Vatican

LD0112215088 Moscow TASS in English 2102 GMT 1 Dec 88

[Text] Rome December 1 TASS—The primate of the Roman Catholic Church Pope John Paul II offered a reception today to Anatoliy Karasikov, deputy general director of the TASS news agency who presented the pope with his book entitled "Accredited With the Vatican" just published in Italian by APN publishers in Moscow.

The reception at the Vatican was attended by Metropolitan Pitirim of Volokolamsk and Yuriyev, president of the Moscow Patriarchate's publishing department, Lev Capalet, general secretary of the USSR-Italy Friendship Society as well as Maria Antonietta Sartori, president of the Rome Provincial Council and principal officers of the Italian association for friendship with the Soviet Union "Italy-USSR".

In the evening, a TASS photographic exhibition "Freedom of Consciousness [as received] in the USSR" opened in the exhibition hall of the ancient basilica. Francesco Cossiga, president of the Italian Republic, addressed a message of greetings to the organizers and participants in the exhibition.

Tarazevich, Parliamentary Delegation Visit Sweden
LD0412104288 Moscow TASS in English 1031 GMT 4 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 4 TASS—The Soviet parliamentary delegation led by Georgiy Tarazevich, vice-president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, today left Moscow for Stockholm on a reply official visit. It was invited by Riksdag (Parliament) of Sweden.

Delegation Activities Reported
LD0612234188 Moscow TASS in English 2310 GMT 6 Dec 88

[Text] Stockholm December 7 TASS—The Soviet parliamentary delegation led by Georgy Tarazevich, vice-president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, paying an official visit here, Tuesday met Kjell-Olof Feldt, acting prime minister and minister of finance of Sweden.

The exchange of views was devoted to perestroyka in the Soviet Union and its impact on international affairs and the development of bilateral relations. The Swedish side showed keen interest in the decisions of the plenary meeting of the Soviet Communist Party Central committee of November 1988 and the extraordinary 12th session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, aimed at a further democratization of Soviet society. The new processes in the USSR are evaluated positively in Sweden, Feldt noted.

The sides underscored the importance of asserting new political thinking on the international scene, of taking further steps in the field of detente and disarmament. In this context the attention of Swedish representatives was drawn to the initiatives for reducing drastically military activity in the north and promoting peaceful cooperation in developing the resources of the region, which were advanced by Mikhail Gorbachev in his speech in Murmansk in October 1987.

The interlocutors pointed out that there existed opportunities for boosting appreciably Soviet-Swedish business cooperation. The sides declared for continued mutual study of experience gained in socio-economic advancement, which was begun at the round-table conference involving eminent Soviet and Swedish scientists and specialists held earlier this year. Satisfaction was expressed with the accord on holding the second round of this debate in Moscow next year, reached by the sides.

The Soviet delegation continued familiarization with the activity of the Swedish Parliament. The deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet showed interest in the procedure of preparing and discussing draft laws, and in the information of the public about lawmakers' activity. Clarifications were given by Evert Svensson, deputy chairman of the Foreign Policy Commission of the Riksdag. Electronic equipment developed by the Swedish concern Eriksson to count votes in Parliament was demonstrated to the delegation.

Today, the delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet visited the Adolf Frederik cementery in Stockholm where Olof Palme, an outstanding politician committed to peace, is buried and laid flowers to his grave.

Cooperation Talks With Danes Open in Copenhagen
LD0612174688 Moscow TASS in English 1722 GMT 6 Dec 88

[Text] Copenhagen December 6 TASS—The Soviet-Danish intergovernmental commission on economic, scientific and technological cooperation opened its 17th session here on Tuesday.

It is being attended by a Soviet Government delegation led by V. Vorontsov, first deputy minister of external economic relations. The Danish delegation is being led by Arne Christiansen, chairman of the committee on economic and industrial cooperation.

The session, which will last several days, will consider bilateral commercial, economic, scientific and technological cooperation and map out main directions for broadening it.

Special attention will be paid to looking for new forms of economic cooperation, including co-production arrangements and joint ventures which have become possible since the Soviet Union has taken new approaches to foreign economic activities.

The session will discuss possibilities for a number of joint projects in agriculture and related industries, comprehensive use of mineral resources in the Kola Peninsula, ship-building, the manufacture of equipment for consumer goods, food and cement industries and fisheries and for developing coastal trade.

The delegations will also examine new prospects for scientific and technological cooperation between the two countries in such fields as instrument-making, biotechnology, the chemical industry, alternative energy sources, space research and arctic and northern studies.

Computer Enterprise Established With Norwegians
LD0412224588 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2055 GMT 4 Dec 88

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Summary] The constitutive documents on the establishment of a joint Soviet-Norwegian enterprise—Eleks-West—have been signed in Moscow. Computer systems are to be assembled in the USSR from parts and components to be supplied by the Norwegian side. A proportion of the output will be marketed in the West. Personal

computers, software, and automated work stations form part of the export program of the new enterprise. [video shows operator at terminal using Epson printer, Eleks disk and software packs, West International publicity material, including "mountain image copier," and shot of documents being signed and exchanged by Soviet and Norwegian sides] The first output of the new Eleks-West joint enterprise will be produced this week.

Swedish Woman Sentenced for Drug Trafficking

LD0212212388 Stockholm Domestic Service in Swedish 1545 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Text] The Swedish woman who was detained at a Moscow airport last summer with a large amount of narcotics was given her sentence by a Moscow court today. The woman was sentenced to 3 years in prison, which is the mildest punishment that can be meted out for drug offenses in the Soviet Union. One of the reasons for the mild sentence was that the woman had not tried to dispose of the narcotics in the Soviet Union.

Past West German Nuclear Accident 'Kept Secret'

LD0512171888 Moscow TASS in English 1634 GMT 5 Dec 88

[Text] Bonn December 5 TASS—The West German agency for the supervision of safe operation of nuclear power plants has kept secret for almost a year a serious fault that happened at Biblis nuclear power plant, 20 km north of Mannheim, in December 1987. FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU reported this today with a reference to a U.S. specialized journal on nuclear power.

When the first power generating set of the nuclear power station with a capacity of 1,300 megawatts was put into operation, a valve of the cooling system in which radioactive liquid coolant circulates under high pressure opened for unknown reasons. As a result there has been an escape of radioactivity into the atmosphere.

The attempts to close the valve proved futile. Automatic equipment which should have shut off the reactor has also failed. It is only a timely and vigorous intervention of the maintenance workers, who have been able to stop manually the reactor whose power was increasing that prevented the accident which could have had catastrophic consequences.

Instead of reporting the incident to the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), the administration of the nuclear power station and competent West German bodies immediately classified all the information regarding this matter. It is only in September of the current year that IAEA was informed of the fault.

West German experts are of the opinion that such actions by the administration mean ignoring international efforts to ensure nuclear reactors' safety. In this connection it is demanded that an independent commission be formed for inquiry into the circumstances and the causes of the fault at the Biblis nuclear power station.

Latin America & Caribbean

Havana Press Center Opens for Gorbachev Visit

LD0712070488 Moscow TASS in English 0656 GMT 7 Dec 88

[Text] Havana December 7 TASS—An international press centre to provide coverage of Soviet Leader Mikhail Gorbachev's forthcoming official friendly visit to the Republic of Cuba opened in Havana's biggest Hotel Havana Libre.

About 200 foreign journalists gathered there, with three more days to go before the visit begins, director of the press center Fausto Soarez said at a briefing. Their total number is to reach 500, he underlined, this evincing the great interest being shown all over the world in the Soviet leader's visit to Cuba.

Cuba's Deputy Foreign Minister Miguel Brugueras, other officials took part in the news conference. They highly assessed the forthcoming visit and underlined it would become a historical landmark in the development of relations between Cuba and the USSR, an event which will have significance for the whole of Latin America.

Other speakers at the news conference were Vice President of the USSR Academy of Sciences K.V. Frolov, Deputy Foreign Minister of the USSR V.G. Komplektov, member of the Presidium of the Soviet Women's Committee, Editor-in-chief of the magazine KRESTYANKA G.V. Semonova, deputy director of the Latin America Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Professor A.D. Pekarevich. Soviet public representatives, workers in culture and scientists dwelt on the process of political, social and economic perestroyka in the Soviet Union, answered numerous questions from journalists.

TASS Cites Castro Revolution Anniversary Speech

LD0612073688 Moscow TASS in English 0732 GMT 6 Dec 88

[Text] Havana December 6 TASS—Cuba sincerely supports the peace and disarmament policy, which is being carried out by the Soviet Union and is inseparably linked with the development of mankind. But one cannot forget that our country is located just 90 miles from the mightiest imperialist power which would not give up its intention to crush the Cuban revolution. Our people should therefore be ever vigilant.

This was stated by Fidel Castro, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, chairman of the State Council and the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba, addressing a meeting, held at the Havana Revolution Square to mark the 32nd anniversary of the revolutionary armed forces.

The money used for maintaining Cuba's defence capacity, could be used with success for socialist development, but we have no right to have our revolutionary gains imperiled. We are not against detente and peaceful coexistence of states with different socio-political systems, but we are realists and are fully aware that as long as our people follows the path chosen, there will be a threat from the United States.

Touching upon the four-nation negotiations on settlement of the situation in South-West Africa, Fidel Castro strongly denounced Pretoria's stand in the way of signing the practically ready final document which guarantees Angola's security and Namibia's independence, the Cuban leader said. Cuba will bear no responsibility, if signing of the agreement is thwarted through South Africa's fault, he underlined.

Further on Delegation in Mexico for Inauguration

Meets Ortega, Belize Minister

PM0612105588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Dec 88 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Delegation's Meetings"]

[Text] Mexico City, 2 Dec—P. Khabibullayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, who heads the USSR delegation to the events devoted to inauguration of Mexico's new President Carlos Salinas de Gortari, had a meeting with Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega. During the meeting they touched on questions of Soviet-Nicaraguan bilateral relations and the situation in Central America.

The USSR delegation also met with Dean Oliver Barrow, Belize minister of foreign affairs, justice, and economic development. Questions concerning the development of Soviet-Belizean relations were discussed during the meeting.

D. Oliver Barrow noted that people in Belize are attentively following the changes now occurring in the USSR and wish the process of restructuring success. He expressed gratitude for the Soviet Union's support for the Belize's efforts to gain independence, and generally for the Soviet position of support for small countries' struggle for autonomy.

Meets Mexican Senate Chairman

LD0612101988 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0400 GMT 6 Dec 88

[Text] Mexico City, 6 Dec (TASS)—The USSR delegation taking part in the festivities on the occasion of the accession of Carlos Salinas de Gortari to the post of president of Mexico, Monday met with a group of Mexican senators headed by the chairman of the Grand Commission of the National Congress Senate, Emilio M. Gonzalez.

P. Khabibullayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and leader of the Soviet delegation, told the Mexican legislators about the results of the recent Supreme Soviet session and dwelled on the tasks facing the supreme body of state power of the Soviet Union. He also told them about recent Soviet foreign policy initiatives and the USSR's approach to the solution of regional conflicts. Matters connected with cooperation between the Soviet Union and Mexico in the parliamentary field were discussed.

E.M. Gonzalez declared that the process taking place in the Soviet Union are being followed with great and friendly interest in Mexico. He made particular mention of M.S. Gorbachev's role in restructuring both the USSR's internal and international policies.

Speaking of breaking the deadlocks in regional conflicts, he declared that the Mexican side supports the USSR's proposal to hold an international conference on Afghanistan. The Senate president invited the USSR Supreme Soviet delegation to come to Mexico on an official visit next year.

Gorbachev Message Delivered

LD0712105688 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0140 GMT 7 Dec 88

[Text] Mexico, 7 Dec (TASS)—Carlos Salinas de Gortari, the president of Mexico, who took up the post on 1 December, yesterday received P.K. Khabibullayev, deputy chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, who is heading the USSR delegation to the celebrations feting the new Mexican head of state.

During the conversation, views were exchanged on the present international situation. Questions related to the state of Soviet-Mexican relations and bilateral cooperation were also discussed.

The deputy chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet passed on to the president of Mexico a personal message from M.S. Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

R.A. Sergeyev, Soviet ambassador to Mexico, took part in the conversation.

Political & Social

Deputies Electoral Commission's First Session

PM0712115388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Dec 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "In the Central Electoral Commission for Elections of USSR People's Deputies"]

[Text] The first session of the Central Electoral Commission for Elections of USSR People's Deputies took place in the House of Unions in Moscow on 6 December.

At the commission session it was noted that elections of USSR People's Deputies will be conducted on a new legal basis and will be one of the first practical steps in implementing the comprehensive reform of our political system.

Speaking at the session, V.P. Orlov, chairman of the Central Electoral Commission, spoke about the main avenues of the commission's activity, the tasks which it has to resolve, and the peculiarities of preparing and carrying out election measures in connection with the adoption of the USSR Law "On Elections of USSR People's Deputies." It was stressed that all these measures must be implemented on a democratic basis, openly and in atmosphere of glasnost, taking into account the multinational nature of our country and the working people's diversity of needs and interests.

The Central Electoral Commission formed territorial and national-territorial electoral okrugs for elections of USSR People's Deputies. The resolutions of the Central Electoral Commission and these okrug lists are being published in the press.

The schedule of basic measures for preparing and holding elections of USSR people's deputies and also the Central Electoral Commission's work plan for December 1988 were approved.

A decision was adopted to publish mass-circulation texts of the USSR Constitution and the USSR Law "On Elections of USSR People's Deputies."

A number of other questions connected with preparing for the elections is being examined.

A.I. Lukyanov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; T.N. Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; and Yu.N. Khristoradnov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union; participated in the commission's session.

Estonian Supreme Soviet Convenes 5-7 December

Delays Economic Autonomy Decision

LD0612164488 Hamburg DPA in German 1532 GMT 6 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow (DPA)—The Estonian Supreme Soviet has postponed its decision on the Republic's change to economic autonomy. The parliament also rejected the chairman of the Estonia Popular Front's Proposal to put the issue of separate Estonian citizenship on the agenda. As DPA learned officially from Tallinn this proposal came unexpectedly for most of the deputies. On the other hand the Supreme Soviet, which has been in session since yesterday, still intends to debate the repression of the Stalin era.

The reason given for postponing the decision on "republican economic accounting" was the fact that the concept available was not yet developed to the extent that the parliament could debate it. Besides the budget and next year's plan the Estonian Parliament also had to decide on a motion concerning the ecological situation in the republic. During the lively debate, there had been calls to close large factories which polluted the environment too much.

Also on the agenda was a debate on the eventual elevation of Estonian to the official language. According to reports from Tallinn, it is no longer expected that there will be the two-thirds majority necessary for this proposal in the parliament.

Apart from this, Supreme Soviet President Arnold Ryuytel intends to report on the results of the USSR Supreme Soviet session which last week passed the constitutional ammendments rejected mainly by Estonia.

The Estonian Parliament also intends to debate the formation of a commission for relations between nationalities in Estonia. When the session will end is not yet certain this evening.

Session Continues for 2d Day

LD0612192988 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1700 GMT 6 Dec 88

[Summary] The Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, meeting for the 2d day, unanimously adopted a resolution on nature preservation. The resolution states that the production of oil shale in Estonia must not be increased, and that phosphorite mining will not be permitted. The day's proceedings were also broadcast on the third program of Estonian radio. Discussion on Estonian becoming the state language, and on the law on language being adopted, was not finished today. A much-amended draft law was circulated among the deputies. A

deputy who also sat in the working group for the language said that the amended draft is much more democratic, and that he would not hesitate to vote for it in its amended form. The session decided to release the amended draft for a month-long public discussion.

The Estonian SSR procurator said that one must no longer postpone adoption of repressions-related law in respect of 1940-50 mass repressions. The procurator, Leo Urge, said that now is a very favorable time for this because there is a commission at the CPSU Central Committee dealing with this question. Urge, after talking with the USSR chief procurator and the chairman of the USSR Supreme Court, said that they were in support of a similar draft for all the USSR, as is being proposed in Estonia.

Kremlin Decree on Veto Rejected

AU0712163188 Paris AFP in English 1629 GMT 7 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow, Dec 7 (AFP)—Estonian members of parliament Wednesday rejected a Kremlin decree annulling a previous vote by which they defied the Soviet authorities in Moscow, an Estonian source said.

The Estonian Supreme Soviet voted by 165 to 87 not to obey the November 26 decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, signed by Soviet President and party chief Mikhail Gorbachev, the assembly's press centre was told.

The decree had invalidated as not in conformity with the Constitution of the USSR the Estonian assembly's vote of November 16, by which the assembly had affirmed the right to veto laws made in Moscow.

Bill To Condemn Stalinism

LD0612114488 Tallinn KODUMAA in English 23 Nov 88 p 2

[Commentary by historian Evald Laasi: "Crime Against Humanity"]

[Text] The blame for the bigger part of the sufferings inflicted on the Estonian people in those years rests with Stalinism, and to a smaller extent, with Hitlerism.

In 1940 and 1941 more than 7,200 Estonians were arrested in Estonia. On June 14, 1941, a further 10,157 were deported to Siberia.

According to modest estimates 5,000 Estonian recruits perished in labour battalions in Russia in 1941 and 1942. Thousands of Estonian soldiers were killed in battles through the fault of inconsiderate generals.

Fearing the revenge of Stalinism 75,000 to 90,000 Estonians fled to the West in 1943 and 1944. This was also a big blow to the Estonians as a nation.

The post-war years caused even bigger losses to the Estonian people. It was a time when the birth rate in all the countries that had taken part in the war was high—people were making up for war losses as has always been the case after mass bloodshed.

In Estonia, however, there were no compensatory births. Who thinks of having children when your future is uncertain and gloomy? The unborn Estonian children are also on the list of Stalinism's crimes.

Immediately after the expulsion of German occupation forces from Estonia in the autumn of 1944 the Stalinist regime continued what was disrupted in 1941.

According to rough estimates 30,000 people were arrested in Estonia between 1944 and 1953; until the end of 1947 a total of 8,468 "forest brethren", or guerillas, were killed; on March 25, 1949, a further 20,702 people were deported.

All in all, approximately 170,000 Estonians were either killed by, or suffered directly from, the Stalinist terror.

But when we take into account also their families who directly experienced the consequences of repressions (moral blows, economic hardships, persecution in applying for a job and entering educational establishments), we can say that more than a half of the Estonian people suffered severely "in the rays of Stalin's sun", hating it with all their hearts.

Stalinist reprisals in Estonia began right after the occupation of the republic by the Red Army on June 17, 1940. Arrests started even before the proclamation of Soviet power in Estonia on July 21, 1940, when Estonia was made part of the Soviet Union.

Thus, for instance, General Johan Laidoner, commander-in- chief of the Estonian Army, was arrested on July 19, 1940, and was taken as a prisoner to the Soviet Union; that is, a citizen of the formally independent Estonia was taken to prison abroad!

The arrests of 1940 and 1941 punished political figures, government officials and Army officers retrospectively: they were accused of things they had done while in the service of the Republic of Estonia.

All this was a brutal breach of international law and universal ethical standards.

By signing the Tartu Peace Treaty on February 2, 1920, Soviet Russia had acknowledged the Republic of Estonia. But now, all of a sudden, Estonian citizens were accused of having served the internationally acknowledged Republic of Estonia.

It should be noted that those people had done nothing anti-Soviet since the imposition of Soviet power in Estonia on July 21, 1940.

In most cases people were tried according to decisions passed by so-called special meetings, i.e. not by courts of law.

There were no legal proceedings. After having spent some time in a labour camp the arrested were told the length of their prison term. The accused had no chance whatsoever to defend themselves.

The deportation of June 14, 1941, came as a complete shock to the Estonian people. Nobody could imagine such barbarity in the 20th century.

Arrested at home, people were informed about the act of deportation, and ordered to pack the belongings they were allowed to take with them and taken to railway stations where men were separated from women and children. The trip to Siberia was in freight trucks.

The deported were termed as "anti-Soviet elements", most of whom were women, children and elderly people. The share of men in the age bracket 20 to 49 was only 21.5 per cent; they were also innocent before the law. Even Attila and Ivan the Terrible would have blushed for shame for such a cruel act.

Thus it didn't come as a surprise that in the war that started eight days after the deportation very many Estonians took up arms against those who had brutally carried out the mass deportations of innocent people.

It should be borne in mind that it was Stalinism that first dealt a blow on the Estonian people; the counter-blow came only after that.

We should resolutely refute any attempt to claim that at the outset of the war "the class enemy" would have definitely taken action. Such attempts are aimed at justifying the deportations.

A law-based society should not take into account what is expected to happen but what actually has happened.

The post-war repressions in Estonia were to a large degree a revenge for opposition to the Stalinist terror in the war years, although the second wave of mass deportations on March 25, 1949, once again affected mainly innocent people: women, children and the elderly.

According to the report from March 17, 1949 of Boris Kumm, the then KGB chief of the Estonian SSR, it was planned to deport 22,326 people.

The plan failed to be fulfilled to the full as part of the people included in the plans, especially men, were able to evade deportation.

	planned target	actually deported
men	7,582	4,507
women	9,935	10,274
children (up to 15)	4,809	5,717
total	22,326	20,498

The overall number of the deported is 20,702; as for 204 people there is no data about their sex and age.

As can be seen from the table a large part of men managed to hide from the deporters. Instead of them more women and children were deported as they were easier to catch.

Kumm's report also reveals that in addition to the 22,326 people included in the plan there was also a reserve—1,906 families who were to be deported in case there emerged a danger of not reaching the planned targets.

Out of the reserve 1,323 persons were deported. To Stalinist barbarians it was all the same whom to deport, their task was just to reduce the number of Estonians in Estonia by a certain figure.

If such an act is not called a crime against humanity one is bound to ask: What then is a crime against humanity?

A group of Tartu deputies of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet, or parliament, has proposed a draft law on this issue. The draft law calls for a complete and unconditional condemnation of the illegal mass repressions of 1940-1950 in Soviet Estonia, declaring them crimes against humanity.

Besides, the bill provides for making up for the damages inflicted on the deported, publishing the lists of the victims, as well as finding out and starting proceedings against the persons guilty of organizing the crimes perpetrated in Estonia.

It is clear that it is not possible to fully make up for the material and, in particular, the moral losses.

What is more, a large part of the victims are dead.

But such a law would have an enormous significance as it would give a guarantee that never again will there be anything similar to the cruel mass repressions of Stalin's era.

The law would also serve as a serious reminder to the neo-Stalinists who are impatiently waiting for their chance to take tough action again.

Ryuytel Defends Estonia at 26 Nov Presidium

PM0712125788 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 29 Nov 88 p 3

[Unattributed report on 26 November USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session speech by Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Chairman A. Ryuytel: "Speech by A. Ryuytel at the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Session"]

[Text] Esteemed Mikhail Sergeyevich!

Esteemed Presidium members!

Comrades!

Obviously there is no need to stress that the question under discussion is extremely important for our entire republic. So allow me to examine the phenomena taking place in Estonia at the moment. First of all I want to single out two aspects of these phenomena, two sides of the laws adopted at the extraordinary session of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet session—the political and legal.

As is known, every state (or republic), by voluntarily joining the federation that is our fraternal union, the USSR, delegated some of its sovereign rights to the central organs. It did this in the confidence that the central organs would make able use of them for the purpose of strengthening and developing our union.

But life has shown that union departments, acting on behalf of the union government, often abuse the rights that are granted to them. This has an adverse effect not only on the economy, but also on the social, spiritual, and polical life of the republic.

I will cite a few instances.

The accelerated extensive development of Estonian SSR industry in recent decades has had results which are costing our republic very dear—a number of acute contradictions have arisen. The natural environment in a number of regions of Estonia is in a disastrous state. The massive intake of manpower has substantially altered the ethnic composition of the population and placed the future of the Estonian nation in jeopardy. Essentially what has taken place is the disintegration of the economy. In the end the authority of the party has suffered. The ethnic question has been exacerbated. The social movements spawned by the restructuring processes have had a dual effect: On the one hand, they really are suporting restructuring; on the other hand they have exacerbated the situation.

We see one way out—the solution of the accumulated problems. The Estonian Communist Party is making an enormous effort to consolidate the population for the purpose of implementing restructuring and uniting it around the Communist Party. This course met with the full support of the republic's supreme soviet. The basis of it was the 19th all-union party conference to which the Estonian Communist Party delegation took a platform approved by the people. Our positions were greeted with sympathy at the conference. In turn, the Estonian people ardently supported the party conference resolutions.

The Estonian Communist Party Central Committee 11th plenum was an important milestone on our path, determining an in-depth program for the implementation in the republic of a course of renewal and consolidation of all social forces to that end.

We are working hard at the moment to comprehend the problems of the republic's switch to economic accountability and self-financing. And this is closely linked to increasing the independence of all republic organs and to their ability to make decisions which will lead as quickly as possible to a positive end result. When the USSR draft Law on Amendments and Additions to the USSR Constitution was submitted for nationwide discussion, the republic spotted a number of provisions that infringe union republics' sovereign rights. Because of this, tension began to grow and the leadership found itself in a difficult situation.

We received thousands and thousands of communications from labor collectives, public organizations and movements, individual citizens, and local party and soviet bodies proposing, in particular, the convening of an extraordinary session of the republic's supreme soviet to discuss the situation that had arisen in Estonia in the course of the nationwide discussion of the aforementioned drafts. There were also numerous proposals on amending the republic Constitution which had been discussed by deputies' groups and backed by them. On the deputies' initiative the question was submitted for discussion by the session, which was held on 16 November.

These were the conditions and prerequisites for the adoption of the political and juridical documents by the extraordinary session of our republic's supreme soviet. Their provisions could only be examined in conjunction with a thorough analysis of the situation that had taken shape in the republic.

The majority of the republic's population positively assessed the decisions adopted at the session. I must say that tension in the republic diminished abruptly immediately after the session.

Now we come to the crux of the problem.

The amendments we made to the Constitution were not made as a result of any kind of separatist impulse, nor in order to destroy the unity of the USSR. Our aim is to combat separatism. It cannot be regarded as reprehensible when a republic's parliament seeks through its own legislation to protect itself against all kinds of departmental encroachments and to establish legal guarantees

of the implementation of the restructuring processes. After all, hitherto republic organs in the republic have really been running only a paltry portion of the economy on their own territory.

Dwelling in general terms on the amendments to the republic's Constitution, I am bound to say that when we talk about their contradicting the USSR Constitution it must not be forgotten that in restructuring conditions social relations are developing at a rapid rate. In our view, this development should be enshrined in constitutional legislation.

For example, a rapid process is taking place in the republic of the development of various forms of labor activity, particularly in agriculture. Means of production such as tractors, trucks, production buildings, and livestock are involved in this.

In order to improve production efficiency and make rational use of natural resources and conserve the environment it is necessary to increase the republic's independence and responsibility when it comes to utilizing its own resources. It is necessary to establish a definite guarantee against narrow departmental interference in the utilization of natural resources and in the republic's production activity, that is, against violation of Article 73 of the USSR Constitution.

Article 74 of the USSR Constitution lays down that in the event of the divergence of union republic law from union law, the USSR law takes effect. But there is no effective mechanism at the moment for protecting the union republic's rights if the union law itself violates them. And such instances are not that rare. For example: The constitutions of the union republics give them authority over the management of housing and municipal services and over the establishment of the procedure for the use of land and mineral, timber, and water resources, yet all these matters are regulated by union laws—the corresponding principles of USSR and union republic legislation.

Therefore, a mechanism for guaranteeing union republics' constitutional rights is essential. The amendments to the republic constitution adopted by the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet can also be seen as proposals on the further improvement of our union constitutional legislation.

The conformity of legislation to the processes taking place in society is a very important condition of successful restructuring. The law must establish prerequisites for the renewal of society, otherwise it will inhibit development.

Obviously, not everything that is being done to reorganize the union system of management should be slavishly copied in the union republic. In view of our small republic's specific needs we would like to keep the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet as the supreme organ of state power and and also retain the republic's right to determine the procedure for the election of people's deputies.

The republic's public is very preoccupied with the matter of the transfer of the republic to regional economic accountability and self-financing. For us it is the guarantee of the further development of restructuring, our hope that we will live and work better.

We also have a proposal regarding the authority of the Soviet of Nationalities. It seems right to us that this organ should have authority over matters concerning the development of the Soviet federation and the elaboration of an effective mechanism to provide surer protection for union republics' constitutional rights.

I am deeply convinced and can assure you that the people of Soviet Estonia fully support the restructuring course. Since this process is developing deep down, it is natural that there should be different interpretations of it. The chief one for us is the consolidation of all forces to ensure the irreversibility of restructuring, renewal of socialism, and strengthening of the Soviet Union and, to that end, of each union republic. It is our common task and we will not balk at implementing it.

KOMMUNIST Chief Criticizes Estonian Media

PM0512125388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Dec 88 Second Edition p 6

[Article by EESTI KOMMUNIST Chief Editor Lembit Annus under the rubric "The USSR Is Our Common Home": "Inside-Out Pluralism"]

[Text] **Tallinn—How beautifully we have learned to deliberate on pluralism, how keen we are to flaunt the words "democracy," "restructuring," and "freedom to express opinion" whenever an opportunity arises. You hear some people talk, and emotion grips you. But when it comes to actual deeds, you perceive that in their hands this selfsame pluralism turns into a big stick with which they lash out at their opponents in all directions, to the point where it is impossible for the latter to even open their mouths.**

This might be what you would expect in a street brawl. It is, however, a misfortune if the press is used as a stick. I can see in my native Estonia that this is by no means a rare occasion today.

When the party launched restructuring—and it is to the party that this initiative belongs—it was automatically assumed that the diversity of opinions, in other words that selfsame pluralism, would be expressed within the framework of socialism while the "mouthpieces" of these opinions would not forget the principle of the commitment of our press to the party, the competence and responsibility of our press. Unfortunately, some

people perceived an opportunity to turn pluralism inside-out, to transform it to the point of "freeing" it of even elementary ideas like decency and honesty, never mind its socialist content.

Yes, we are talking a lot today about the Stalinist repressions, the distortions of socialism, the "blank spots" in our history. This is correct and necessary: To know the mistakes so as not to repeat them ever again. But when this crucial analysis is turned into outright censure of socialist society, when—as the journal LOOMING (Issue No. 11, 1988) did—the 1940 revolution in Estonia is described as a "Bolshevik occupation" and calls are issued for liberation from it, when the same source suggests that the Estonian SSR be renamed the "Estonian Soviet Zhdanovite Republic," this is not pluralism at all, it is nothing but downright extremism, an orgy of anti-Sovietism.

My grandfather was tortured by the Hitlerites in Tallinn jail for the sole reason that he was a Soviet activist in 1940. My father fought in the Estonian Rifle Corps for the liberation of his native land and the affirmation of socialist ideals. And this is why today, when people importunately bombard me with the expression "Soviet occupation" and depict the times of the bourgeois republic in pink and blue hues, I see in all this no pluralism at all but the most outright counterrevolutionary manifestations.

At times you wonder where the ideological "lurches" by some of our editorial offices will end. I opened the journal VIKERKAAR (Issue No. 11, 1988) and could hardly believe my eyes. In his article "Time of Horrors," M. Laar informs me that "we were spared even worse by the 22 June 1941 military conflict between Hitler's Germany and Stalin's Russia," that the fascists' accomplices—the "forest brothers"—came into being primarily for the purpose of self-defense and the defense of the homeland, and that, generally speaking, the prime cause of the bloodshed in Estonia was the Soviet occupation of the republic and the institution of a regime of terror in it. There is no denying that any ideas of morality go by the board when Hitler is perceived as the "savior of the Estonian people...."

This could probably be attributed to a fortuitous "brainstorm"—people do say all sorts of things at the heat of the moment!—had it not been for a clearly visible system, well thought-out and far-reaching. It is by no means an accident that people who disagree with the aforementioned authors are now finding it difficult, if not impossible, to express their opinion in many Estonian press organs. We on the journal EESTI KOMMUNIST got an opportunity to publish a controversial letter by Yaan Aer in defense of Academician G. Naan, which had been rejected by the newspaper EDAZI [name as published]. Returning the letter to its author, the newspaper's editor bluntly told him that he would be unlikely to have it published in any other newspaper. There was no reason to doubt this statement—many of our Estonian language newspapers reject any dissidence out of hand. Moreover, even if a divergent opinion did manage to appear in the press, its author would be subjected to such defamation that he would be totally shunned by his neighbors. It was no accident that the selfsame Yaan Aer, when his letter was published in our journal, added the following note: "Despite the rapid process of democratization, G. Naan has been declared an outlaw and any repressive measures against him are deemed morally justified (!), and I therefore fear that I will be subjected to similar treatment. That is why why I am writing to you under a pseudonym."

About the "obstinate" academician, by the way. When PRAVDA (23 November) published G. Naan's article "Topsy-Turvy" on the spiritual and information blockade imposed on Estonian readers, the pandemonium that was raised around it and the persecution to which it gave rise would have been deemed simply unimaginable and intolerable in any civilized press. Matters reached the point where criminal proceedings against him were promised on the radio. The same slogan also appeared at a recent People's Front rally. The newspaper MAALEHT did not miss the opportunity to get on the bandwagon and printed an absolutely thuggish cartoon of the academician with a caption of unsavory verse. One must add that the cartoon also insulted PRAVDA's honor: Its masthead, instead of the Orders of Lenin and the Order of the October Revolution, depicted three grinning turnips. The amazing thing is that MAALEHT's masthead reads: Newspaper of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee.

Some orators today accuse the central press of a biased and prejudiced approach toward its coverage of events in Estonia. But what is happening is rather the opposite. V.M. Chebrikov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, correctly noted that the People's Front in Estonia has been given broad opportunities to propagandize its views, while other public movements have far from adequate opportunities. Furthermore, some People's Front leaders, while deliberating at length about ethics, are by no means averse to sticking destructive "labels" to their opponents. For example, there were demands that party proceedings be instituted against I. Shepelevich, director of the Kh. Pegelman Electrical Equipment Plant, and V. Yarovoy, director of the "Dvigatel" Plant, both members of the organizational committee of the new movement "United Council of Labor Collectives," as "instigators" of interethnic dissension, while the International Movement was branded as "concealed fascism." In this way, ideological isolation turns into downright slander and "witch-hunting." Even deputies come under attack. Kh. Parik, USSR Supreme Soviet deputy and director of the "Tartu" showcase sovkhoz, was subjected to real obstruction because he had dared to take the "wrong" position at a session of a USSR Supreme Soviet deputies' commission.

Parik's case is not an isolated one. Estonian Radio has also repeatedly engaged in anticonstitutional actions. On the 70th anniversary of the Estonian Labor Commune, for example, it "suddenly" reported that the amendments to the Estonian SSR Constitution were coming into force, even though the country's Supreme Soviet Presidium had deemed them invalid. It is hard to understand the motives of Estonian Television staffers who, instead of relaying the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session and Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's speech there about those selfsame amendments to the Estonian SSR Constitution, broadcast... a light entertainment program. And Central Television programs are still not available throughout Estonia's territory....

It is sad that, in this situation, some publications even feel ashamed to call themselves organs of the relevant party committee. Thus, literally overnight, the Valgaskiy Rayon newspaper KOMMUNIST was transformed into VALGAMAALANE [name as published] ("Resident of the Valga Land"), its masthead "modestly" indicating that it is a rayon newspaper, and only the publication data on the last page tell in small print in the Russian language (!) that it is still the organ of the Valgaskiy Party Raykom and Rayispolkom....

I think that the time has come for the republic party committees and the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee to bring unbridled unhealthy emotions and passions to a halt and to give a proper party assessment of such publications and their authors and—most importantly—of Communists working in the mass media. Ultimately, the party press cannot be farmed out to those who preach antisocialist views.

'Strong' Earthquake Damages Armenian Rayons

Government Commission Formed

LD0712121088 Yerevan Domestic Service in Russian 1058 GMT 7 Dec 88

[Text] Attention. Attention. An emergency announcement.

A strong earthquake has hit a number of rayons in the republic. According to preliminary data, there is damage and there are casualties and injured. The towns of Leninakan, Kirovakan, Gugark, Stepanavan, Spitak, and the areas adjacent to these have particularly suffered. The Armenian Atomic Power Station and the enterprises of the capital's chemical industry have not been affected.

A government commission has been formed, headed by Fadey Sarkisyan, chairman of the council of ministers of the Armenian SSR. Senior officials of the Communist Party of Armenia Central Committee and the republican council of ministers have gone out to the relevant rayons. The victims are receiving medical assistance. Measures are being taken to provide the victims of the earthquake with food, clothing, and medicine. Boris Shcherbina, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, who is in Armenia, and Suran Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Communist Party of Armenia Central Committee, have gone to the areas which affected by the earthquake.

The Communist Party of Armenia Central Committee and the presidium of the supreme soviet and the council of ministers of the Armenian SSR call upon citizens of the republic to remain calm, to be organized, and to observe order.

All forces will be mobilized to give assistance to the areas which have suffered from the earthquake. More precise details will be given in later broadcasts.

100 Reportedly Killed

AU0712114188 Paris AFP in English 1138 GMT 7 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow, Dec 7 (AFP)—A powerful earthquake shook northern regions of the Soviet republic of Armenia on Wednesday, causing severe damage and an unknown number of deaths, a journalist with the Armenian news agency ARMENPRESS told AFP.

Informed sources in the Armenian capital Yerevan said that more than 100 people had been killed.

The ARMENPRESS journalist said that "five or six" regions of the republic near the border with Georgia were affected by the earthquake at 11:45 a.m. (0745 GMT). News of the quake was announced on Armenian television.

The Soviet news agency TASS did not immediately publish details of the quake first detected by Uppsala University's seismological department in Sweden.

The university said that the quake registering seven on the Richter scale had struck the border region between the Soviet Union and Turkey and had been "very violent".

Iran reported that an earth tremor registering 6.8 on the Richter scale had struck an area 1,000 kilometers (620 miles) northwest of Tehran on Wednesday.

The Iranian news agency did not say if the tremor, recorded by the Geophysics Department of Tehran University, had caused casualties.

A quake registering seven on the open-ended Richter scale means a major earthquake capable of widespread, heavy damage.

Armenian First Secretary Suren Arutyunyan and other leading Armenian officials immediately rushed to the affected area, according to ARMENPRESS.

The quake shook the towns of Leninakan, Kirovakan, Spitak and Stepanakan, the journalist said.

The Armenian television report did not mention the force of the quake, but the journalist said he estimated it was more than nine on the 12-point Mercalli scale used in the Soviet Union.

One third of Armenia, including northern regions, is currently under curfew after continuing unrest between Muslim Azeris and Christian Armenians.

TASS Reports Epicenter, Time

LD0712133188 Moscow TASS in English 1323 GMT 7 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 7 TASS—A powerful earthquake measuring eight points on the 12-point scale occurred in Armenian mountains today, a TASS correspondent learned at the Moskva central seismic station.

The epicentre of the quake is located 50 kilometres from Leninakan, Soviet Armenia's second biggest city situated 155 kilometres north-west of Yerevan.

The quake took place at 10:41 Moscow time. Tremors were felt throughout the south Caucasus and had the magnitude of five points in Yerevan and Tbilisi and three points in the city of Grozny.

According to available information, it caused destruction in Leninakan. Details of the earthquake consequences are being determined.

Further Reportage on Ethnic Unrest in Baku City

Worsening Situation 5 Dec

PM0612152188 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 6 Dec 88 p 3

[Special correspondent V. Andriyanov report under the general heading "Fraternity Is the Dearest Thing of All"]

[Text] Baku—"Our collective received with great satisfaction the results of M.S. Gorbachev's meeting with the USSR Supreme Soviet deputies representing the Azerbaijan and Armenian SSR's, the leadership of the two republics and the Azerbaijan SSR's NKAO [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast]," said Abdulla Guseynov, director of the Novobakinskiy Oil Refinery named for Vladimir Ilich. "A crucial time requires responsible actions. We support the measures adopted by the USSR Council of Ministers to ensure the work of the two republics' vitally important industrial and transport facilities. Our refinery is one of those facilities. We have seen from our own experience that this is an enforced but essential measure."

From the very outset of the conflict Baku's oil workers have been subjected to a stream of threats and anonymous phone calls. The troublemakers did their utmost to win over the refinery director's men but the collective did not flinch. Only 22 people out of 2,500 yielded to the provocative calls to leave their workplaces.

...I went to one of the largest installations. The huge control panel was in the care of the duty shift: senior operator Yuriy Baryshev, foreman Sakhib Zalov, and operator Parikhanum Guseynova.

"When we heard the strike calls the first thing we did was to gather our people together," installation machine operator Gadir Azizov, a party group organizer, said quietly. "Supposing there were troublemakers here who had gotten it into their heads to stop the plant. But there weren't any. And as for those hanging around the entrance gate, we gave them a plain and simple answer: Stopping a plant like this means bringing all Baku to a halt. Scram!"

Since then the workers volunteer militia has been helping servicemen to guard the enterprise. The names of the enterprises which went on strike are more widely known now. But the time has come to name those which resisted the saboteurs and who kept their emotions in check in the hour of trial. It was not for the sake of glory that they went to work. That was how they perceived and still do perceive their duty as workers, as internationalists.

There are usually 49 enterprises operating a continuous production process which are at work in Baku on a Sunday. This Sunday more than 100 were active. Labor collectives are sending part of their earnings to the refugees' fund. The ill wind of national strife has uprooted many thousands of families from their homes. By 5 December more than 80,000 refugees had left Armenia for Azerbaijan. People are thoughtfully helping them to find shelter and warmth. Clothing, footwear, and cooking vessels are being collected everywhere. Dozens of assembly centers have been opened in Baku.

One of them is located at the construction workers' House of Culture. Tables laden with apples, mandarin oranges, and sandwiches are arranged along the entire foyer. On the second floor volunteer helpers are sorting clothing into categories: children's, adult's, men's, women's. You will appreciate that this is an expression of people's sympathy and charity.

A thin young woman was clutching a bundle. Her name was Aziza. She had come with her husband Fazil from Masisskiy Rayon in Armenia. Two children were clinging to their mother's skirt—a boy aged about 5 and a girl aged 3.

"Will you return when the situation improves?"

"Yok, yok, yok," Aziza Ismaylova said, her voice faltering. "No, no, no."

At the moment the refugees are housed in boarding houses and rest homes. On Saturday and Sunday the first volunteer detachments of Glavbakstroy construction workers went to the areas where they will be building houses for the refugees.

In the shops themselves I saw the lists of those who are contributing money to the fund. There were Azerbaijani, Russian, Armenian, and Ukrainian names there. That is understandable: For us there is no such thing as someone else's sorrow. That is how it should be, too. Can this city be any other way, this city whose stones recall Alesha Dzhaparidze, Sergey Kirov, Ivan Fioletov, and Nariman Narimanov, and thousands upon thousands of fighters and revolutionaries who worked in a single internationalist formation to build the new world. They also included Kyamran Aga-Zade, one of the first Azerbaijani Communists, a member of the republic Communist Party Central Committee in the twenties, and a member of the Comintern executive committee. His grandson was named Kyamran in his honor.

Kyamran Elverovich Rustamov is a doctor of technical sciences, professor, and head of the department of gas supply systems and microclimate control at the Azerbaijan Engineering Construction Institute.

"For centuries the Azerbaijani and Armenian peoples have lived as brothers," he said. "Now we must all show wisdom. 'The workers' interests require unity,' my grandfather said at a rally in 1919. We need that unity even more today. It determines the fate of restructuring.

"We have a request to put to SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA," Rustamov continued. "Our students would very much like to convey through the newspaper their deep condolences to the families of the Soviet servicemen who died in Kirovabad—Guards Lieutenant B. Gusev, Guards Private O. Yurchenko, and Guards Private A. Kosenko. We would like to get in touch with their relatives and friends and sponsor their families. Unfortunately, we could not get their addresses from the military commandant's office. Perhaps the newspaper can help us. In summer our people will visit them. If necessary they will repair their homes. We would like those families to always feel that our institute is looking after them."

All the enterprises began work yesterday morning. But by midday the situation in the city had worsened again. The crowds in the streets blocked the traffic. Spontaneous rallies were held in various places.

In the evening A.Kh. Vezirov, first secretary of the republic's Communist Party Central Committee, addressed Azerbaijan's citizens on television.

Officials' 'Deficiencies' Cited

NC0712082288 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0440 GMT 7 Dec 88

[From the republican press review]

[Text] Serious deficiencies have been observed in the efforts of the Baku City internal affairs organs to obstruct activities of an extremist nature, which are against the entire society. A number of employees and leading officials of the internal affairs organs in Baku have adopted an irresponsible approach toward the fulfillment of their tasks during the unauthorized meetings and marches, displayed a lack of resoluteness and political [word indistinct], and created opportunities for those who disrupt social law and order. This has created justified anger among the citizens.

The information disclosed by the Azerbaijan SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, which has been published in the newspapers, detailed the measures taken against these individuals.

The newspapers have also published reports confirming that the rumors circulating in Baku are unfounded.

Three Soldiers Wounded 5 Dec

NC0612160788 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0300 GMT 6 Dec 88

[Text] Notice by Colonel General Tyagunov, commandant of the Baku City Special District:

The situation in the city remains tense. The notices issued by the commandant of the Baku City Special District yesterday morning and during the day made a realistic assessment of the incidents which occurred in Lenin Square.

Regrettably, a number of citizens, particularly Azerbaijani youths, failed to act prudently and followed elements who resort to extremist activities and hooliganism. Benefiting from the little information the people have, these elements continue to spread rumors that there have been a large number of victims among the local people. This is creating an unstable situation in the city.

The atmosphere in the (?Nesimi), Nizami, and Narmimanov Districts has been tense during the day. Extremists and criminal elements created mass disturbances and tried to carry out looting and other lawless activities. For example, illegal meetings turned into disturbances at times in the (?Akhmarly) quarter.

The majority of the workers displayed a high degree of responsibility and normal work was maintained in most of the city's establishments.

The committee of the special district's military units is promptly executing its task. They are not led by instigatory provocations and attacks of extremist and hooligan elements against the military servicemen.

The military units fired warning shots in order to obstruct lootings and disturbances. Three military servicemen and one of the students of [name indistinct] were wounded while acts of hooliganism were being prevented.

A detailed investigation of all the incidents is being conducted.

Comrade residents of Baku, I appeal to you once again: Act with prudence and caution.

[Signed] Colonel General Tyagunov, military commandant of the Baku City Special District.

Official Cites Casualties

AU0712095488 Paris AFP in English 0927 GMT 7 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow, Dec 7 (AFP)—Two Armenians and an Azeri were killed in disturbances which flared up in Baku, capital of Azerbaijan, on Monday and lasted more than 24 hours, an Azerbaijani official said on Wednesday.

Evchin Bagirov, a spokesman for the Foreign Ministry of the republic of Azerbaijan, said that "many people" joined "hooligans" in pillaging "state buildings and private homes" on Monday after security forces dispersed demonstrators on Sunday.

The disturbances were sparked by rumours that people had been killed by the security forces, who used force to break up a demonstration of between 2,000 and 3,000 youths, he said.

Mr. Bagirov, who earlier confirmed that 30 people had been injured when Sunday's demonstration was broken up, described the rumours of deaths as "slanderous". He said that three people had been killed before calm was restored to Baku on Tuesday.

Lenin Square Sealed Off

AU0612171488 Paris AFP in English 1657 GMT 6 Dec 88

[Pierre Glachant report]

[Excerpts] Moscow, Dec 6 (AFP)—Security forces have sealed off Lenin Square in Baku, capital of the Soviet republic of Azerbaijan, which has been the scene of daily demonstrations since November, an Azerbaijan Foreign Ministry spokesman said Tuesday [6 Dec].

Contacted by telephone, spokesman Evchin Bagirov said the square had been closed off following the forcible dispersion Sunday of 2,000 to 3,000 mainly young demonstrators, which left 30 people wounded.

There were also some arrests, Mr Bagirov said, but he was unable to give their number. He denied there had been any deaths during the breaking up of Sunday's demonstration in Baku.

Mr Bagirov said that the chairman of the Baku city council first addressed the demonstrators in Lenin Square, calling on them to disperse. He was followed by the city's prosecutor and its military commander.

When the people still refused to leave, the security forces moved in to make them go, the spokesman said. [passage omitted]

According to the official Azerbaijani spokesman Mr Bagirov, the square is currently being cleaned.

The situation in Baku had improved Tuesday compared with Monday, when the situation had been "complex" because of the rumours of deaths of demonstrators, Mr Bagirov said. The rumours had led to several demonstrations, he said.

Most industries, transport systems and stores were functioning, Mr Bagirov said, stressing, however, the problems caused by an influx of Azeri refugees from the neighbouring republic of Armenia.

Their number has been officially put at 130,000.

Mr Bagirov said he knew nothing of the deaths in Azerbaijan mentioned by the Soviet spokesman in Moscow.

In Armenia, where a curfew was declared Monday in 16 of the republic's 37 districts, the situation was "relatively normal" and businesses were working in the capital Yerevan, a journalist from the official ARMENPRESS news agency said. [passage omitted]

Call for 'Resolute Measures'

LD0612225288 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 6 Dec 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video report by correspondents V. Nazaryan and Ye. Nikonov—identified by caption]

[Text] We took this photograph today in the village of Aytakh, in Echmiadzin Rayon. The house of Grigor Grigoryan, a Kholkoz worker, received two families, the Galustyans and the Vartanyans, who arrived from Baku. [video shows a group of 15 people, including children, posing for photographs, and then climbing the stairs in a house; video goes on to show two women, their husbands, and five children being interviewed in a room]

[Begin recording] [Interviewer] How did you settle here, in this (?house)?

[Woman] We settled down very well. They met us, they took us to their home, they fed us and they gave us drink. They accomodated us in their house, they created all comforts for us, and they themselves made room for us in order to help us.

[Interviewer] And what about relatives of someone...

[Woman] We have nobody here. We first saw these people when they came to us and took us to their house.

[Interviewer] And are the children with you?

[Woman] These are our children. All our children are, of course, here.

[Interviewer] How many children are there?

[Woman] I have two, she has three. We have five children. [end recording] [video shows laundry drying in a garden]

Thousands of Armenian families in Yerevan and Kafan, Kirovakan and Alaverdi, and throughout the republic, took the refugees from Azerbaijan under their roof. But they are stil arriving today. Reception centers at the airport and at the railway station are working round the clock. [video shows a bus terminus, line of people, a platform, a stationery train surrounded by a large crowd of people] When this report was being filmed, a regular train from Baku arrived. One can see the suffering on the faces of he people who left their native hearths, work, and friends. [video shows panning of crowd, showing luggage dumped on the platform, belongings in plastic bags or cardboard boxes. There are many children and old people in the crowd]

People are coming here, driven by the feeling of fear and by the uncertainty of their own safety. Unfortunately, there are still many who succumbed to rumors and conjectures of various kinds. [video shows a group of people filling forms]

Armyk Artemovich Arutyunyan also arrived from Baku. Nobody threatened him, he told us. But the same fear born out of rumors made the man leave his home. [video shows two men talking]

A great deal is now being done in the republic to ensure that everyone has a roof over one's head, and work. But there is nothing to spare. In Armenia there are many problems with housing constuction, with the production of foodstuffs, and an acute shortage of vacant workplaces. But nobody is left without help. All existing hotels, recreation facilities, dispensaries and sanatoria have been handed over for the placement of new arrivals. [video again shows reception center, people chatting, families with young children]

Each child was given a place in the classroom and the students were given places in the lecture theatre. [video shows children in a classroom]

Even so, the situation in the republic remains tense. Following Yerevan, special situation [osoboye polozheniye] and curfew were introduced in another 16 rayons of the republic, so as you can seem, many problems still remain. [video shows a youth painting the front of a kiosk, two men observing]

[Begin recording] [Yu.Ye. Khodzhamiryan, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Armenian SSR—identified by caption] I think we have indeed reached the point where it is necessary to adopt resolute measures. It is necessary to adopt correct and just solutions, and, so to speak, pacify the people. After all, we have been living normally for so many years in friendship without similar problems. In any case, these problems were not on the surface. We should probably have thought about this earlier. What Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee said about this was correct. It is necessary to adopt the most resolute measures in order to alleviate the situation which has arisen. [video shows brief shot of two interviewers talking to Khodzamiryan] [end recording]

'Firm Position' of Cadres Needed

LD0612193888 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 6 Dec 88

[Text] [Levin] Here is a report by our special correspondents Islam Kuriyev and Sergey Omelchenko from Baku.

[Kuriyev] It has been quiet in Baku since this morning. There have been no large gatherings of people in the streets, and people have been hurrying about their business as usual. Most enterprises have been working in the city and the military is controlling the situation. The main efforts of the troops, together with party and local soviet bodies, have been concentrated on preventing mass disturbances and ensuring a normal working rhythm in the city and in the republic as a whole.

[Omelchenko] Citizens being restricted to their permament place of residence remains a destabilizing factor. An extremely complex situation with them has developed in the Nakhichevan ASSR, and Kedabekskiy, Kazakhskiy, and other rayons bordering on Armenia. I am talking to Abdulrakhman Khalilovich Vezirov, first secretary of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan Central Committee.

[Vezirov] I believe that the main thing now is to provide a guarantee of safety for both Armenians and Azerbaijanis in our republics. Frightened by the development of events, they are quite often thrown off guard. Thousands of people in both republics need the protection of civil rights in order to calm them amd to give them confidence.

The second question is to welcome, to provide quarters, and give attention to the families who have come to us from Armenia.

Special commissions headed by rayispolkom chairmen have been set up in all rayons of Azerbaijan in order to provide them with employment. Large material funds have been allocated, clothes and accessories have been provided, and assistance is being given to these people.

All the power of the law should be applied to those individuals who are inflaming interethnic discord and who dismiss persons for reasons of nationality. The struggle against this evil is one of the most important tasks for both our republic party organizations and the law-and-order bodies. We must erect a reliable barrier to rumors and fabrications which poison the minds of people.

I would like to say that the firm position of all our cadres is required on all these questions, on key issues such as what should be done now, and from what should one proceed. Unless the position of cadres is changed, it was said at the meeting in the CPSU Central Committee, the atmosphere will not change; at the end of the day it is cadres who influence the position in workers' collectives and on the people's mood.

Commandant Notes Improvement

LD0612180588 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 6 Dec 88

[Information from the military command of Baku City Special District]

[Text] After the operation to clear Lenin Square of those staging an illegal meeting, 542 people were detained—not imprisoned—on the basis of the 23 November 1988 decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. Provocateurs have spread a repulsive rumor that people were allegedly killed when the square was being cleared of people. Many naive residents and youths believed this slander and joined a group of hooligans who were committing unauthorized actions. They tried to disrupt work by entering plants and looting some state offices and private houses; they broke windows in houses and overturned automobiles. Some buildings have suffered material losses. At the time when law and order were violated and while they were being stopped, troops were forced to use weapons as a warning and special protection agaisnt attack. During the disorders three people—two Armenians and one Azerbaijani—were killed. According to estimated reports, 14 soldiers and 30 civilians were injured to various degrees. As a result of the measures taken and rational actions by the absolute majority of residents of Baku, by 1400 on 6 December the situation began to improve and stabilize to a certain extent. Today, on 6 December, the city is calm. Normal work is going on because the actions of pickets and provocateurs were stopped in time.

[Signed] Colonel General Tyagunov, military commandant of Baku city special district

Commandant on Troops' Purpose

LD0712123288 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1125 GMT 7 Dec 88

[Text] Baku, 7 Dec (TASS)—"I state firmly and unequivocally that the situation in the city is getting back to normal," Major-General Boris Aleksandrov deputy military commandant of the special district of the city of Baku, told a TASS correspondent.

He pointed out that with every passing day, the number of functioning enterprises increases in the capital of the Transcaucasian republic of Azerbaijan, which is living under curfew conditions. The academic process is being resumed in institutes, technical colleges, and colleges. The number of cases of the spreading of panic rumors and blatant lies, dressed up with nationalistic intoxication, are decreasing. Those who have yielded to the influence of nationalistic forces are beginning to see clearly who is leading them and where.

"It should be said," the general stressed, "that the majority of the people of Baku supported the normalization of the situation from the very first days after the special situation and curfew were declared. Today, the working class, the absolute majority of the population, we are convinced of this, are for order, discipline, and the normalization of the situation. On the whole the attitude to the soldiers is benevolent. The more mature section of the population is grateful to them for the courage and restraint shown under the conditions of the special situation and the curfew. At the same time, the effectiveness of the measures undertaken is being reduced by the indecisiveness and, in a number of cases, the permissiveness of certain bodies of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and certain local soviet bodies."

Aleksandrov stated that the acutest problem today is the problem of the refugees. He said, "I have seen the tears and deprivations of Azerbaijani citizens who have abandoned their homes, land, and the graves of their relatives in villages on the territory of Armenia. On the other hand, the flow of people of Armenian nationality from Azerbaijan is not decreasing."

The decision of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers of 5 December sets the task of resolutely halting blatant violations of the constitutional rights of citizens and of prohibiting illegal dismissals from work and the driving out of people on the basis of nationality. The inevitable result of this will be serious responsibility in accordance with the law. The general again stressed that the troops came to Baku not to suppress demonstrations by the people but to defend the honor, dignity, and life of all citizens, regardless of their nationality.

"We believe," he said, "that peace and calm will come to the common home, to the land of Azerbaijan, where a wise and proud people lives. It is to this end that the

soldiers of the Soviet Army and the administration of the special districts are making every possible effort, relying on the support of the majority of the people."

Work Situations in Baku, Yerevan

PM0612203188 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 7 Dec 88 p 3

[Reports by special correspondents V. Andriyanov and D. Melikov in Baku and Ye. Kubichev and N. Ordinyan in Yerevan under the general headline: "Say 'No' to Mutual Recriminations!"]

[Text]

BAKU

What brought an excited crowd of people out into the streets of Baku Monday? Why were they carrying black flags? Was there some reason for mourning? No, there was not.

The reason was different. Sunday night the small group of young people who had been camped out in Lenin Square for over 2 weeks were addressed by N. Karakashly, chairman of Baku Gorispolkom, and I. Kerimov, the city's prosecutor. In view of the real danger of an epidemic they asked the participants in the unauthorized rallies to go home. Buses stood by at the ready. But those appeals and requests, like the suggestion of the military commandant, went unanswered.

"After long attempts at persuasion the order was given to clean up the square. Contrary to the many rumors I want to stress that neither hardware nor weapons were used. There wasn't a single death," Niyazan Karakashly said.

Nevertheless rumors spread around the city. At intersections and outside ministries and the building of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee people began gathering and processions carrying black flags began forming. Strike calls were heard again.

Who helped to tell people the truth on that difficult day and how? In labor collectives, we were told, "delegates" were taken straight to the scene: So someone at the plant next door told you they they had seen four corpses with their own eyes? Come and show us too. You say Lenin Square is strewn with dead people? Let's all go and look...

Enterprise leaders and party workers went straight to the plant shops and into the teams of workers. At the Kishlinskiy machine building plant club milling machine operator Oktay Bagirov, member of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Bureau and USSR Supreme Soviet deputy, addressed his workmates. Some 600 workers listened to his description of the recent meeting at the CPSU Central Committee.

"You know," he said, "in Moscow, in the CPSU Central Committee, I could literally feel the sincere, deep concern at the situation in our two republics. As was said at the meeting, we will be helped most speedily to find the optimum, genuinely internationalist solution to the problems without changing the NKAO's [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast] territorial status as part of the Azerbaijan SSR, as the July decision of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium stressed. The main thing for us now is to restore a normal working rhythm and make good what has been lost."

...During these hours a tremendous responsibility has rested on the shoulders of servicemen. They have done everything to prevent conflicts and avoid a major disaster.

In many fraught areas Baku militia workers are also operating alongside soldiers, we were told by Colonel Fatulla Guseynov, chief of the Baku Gorispolkom Internal Affairs Administration. Not all of them have proved equal to the task, unfortunately. A number of subunit leaders have been dismissed from the internal affairs organs for irresponsibility in the execution of their duty.

All culprits will have to answer for the mass disturbances, provocations, and outrages for which they are responsible. As will the hooligans who managed to force their way into the P. Montin machine building plant. Several hundred thugs paralyzed the enterprise. The workers were forced to leave their shops under threat of reprisals.

"If you come back tomorrow we'll get you!"

The threat cannot be disregarded. But it must be resisted with worker's determination and the force of law. On repeated occasions in recent days our interlocutors—workers, engineers, party workers—have spoken about the campaign of threats and blackmail which has been unleashed against plants, factories, and oil production facilities. There are reports about it in the local press. "Some" young people burst into the shops of the Worsted textiles combine and attempted to force their way onto the territory of an oil refining complex. "Some" pickets attempted to blockade a wharf and prevent offshore oilmen setting off on their tour of duty. Describing this outrageous incident, oil and gas operator M. Dzhalilov, a republic Supreme Soviet deputy, justly noted: Why do the militia give them so much freedom?

Let us take his thought a little further. By what right are the "pickets" depriving people of the right to work? By what right do they drag from their vehicles drivers who do not want to follow them? Is this what they consider democracy? No, a democratic society is based on law and order and discipline and has nothing in common with anarchy.

These lines are being written by a Russian and an Azerbaijani. The fate of Topkhana, a shrine for the Azerbaijani people, is equally precious to us both. But how can you understand "friends" of nature who essentially devastated Primorskiy Park, of which Baku has always been proud? Up to 50,000 rose bushes and more than 2,000 lilac trees were vandalized here. The damage caused to the park is estimated at R500,000.

As we were preparing to dispatch this report we contacted a number of the biggest enterprises in the Azerbaijani capital and asked: How did your working day go?

Rakhman Kurbanov, chief of the Serebrovskiy Oil and Gas Extraction Administration: "The duty team for the 'Bakhar' field left on schedule. Extraction is being maintained at the prescribed level..."

Muslim Imanov, chief of the Azerbaijan Main Power and Electrification Administration: "We are fully providing the republic with electricity and transferring the surplus into the unified Transcaucasus power system..."

These are times of responsible decisions—times of responsible actions on which the fate of generations depends. Two fraternal peoples have found themselves on the brink. We wish to repeat the wise words of composer Arif Melikov, USSR people's artist and USSR Supreme Soviet deputy:

"Today there is no room for mutual recriminations, accusations, or territorial claims. The necessity now is to think about people's sufferings, about how to give back to those who—in the language of bitter wartime parlance—are known as refugees, a roof over their heads, the warmth of their hearth and home, and the land which their grandfathers and fathers inhabited and which they have cultivated by the sweat of their brow."

Let us also think about what must be done to extinguish the flames of conflict.

YEREVAN

On Monday, addressing journalists in Yerevan, garrison political department chief Colonel M. Surkov drew their attention to the fact that some of the migrants who have come to Baku from Armenia are vacillating over whether or not it would be better, more sensible in every respect to return to their previous place of residence, to their birthplaces.

At the moment we cannot name a single Azerbaijani family that has returned to the home of its ancestors. But, listening to M. Surkov, we could not help remembering a conversation 2 days previously with Vladimir Migranovich Movsisyan, first deputy chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the republic commission for migrant affairs.

"I got a call from Tumanyanskiy Rayon requesting permission to put arriving Armenians in the homes of Azerbaijanis who were leaving. This is both illegal and entirely wrong in human terms. Even if people have gone away and left their previous place of residence."

We would very much like this official Armenian leadership position to be known to as many migrants as possible arriving in Azerbaijan at the moment. And there are many of them—tens of thousands on both sides.

This is the scale of the tragedy. It is December—there can be no question of tent encampments. The fact that there are 96,000 families—approximately 360,000 people—on the housing list in Armenia at the moment is a grim indictment of the former republic leadership, which totally neglected the entire social sphere. You can add the migrants to that figure.

There is a government commission operating in the republic, headed by USSR Council of Ministers Deputy Chairman V. Shcherbina. Measures have been elaborated and are being implemented to provide the refugees with food, essential items, and medical and other types of social and consumer services. Extra stocks of meat, butter, and other foodstuffs have been allocated.

A careful record is being kept of arrivals and all data are being computerized, which not only helps in the search for relatives but also makes it possible to rationally locate people from the viewpoint of employment, and this is particularly important in a republic where 14 percent of the ablebodied population is not employed in social production. Nevertheless, all soviet ispolkoms have been instructed to fix up the new arrivals—even those without documents and residence permits—so that people end up in labor collectives and do not have the sour feeling that they are parasites.

"I am in constant contact with my colleague in Baku, Artur Tairovich Rasi-Zade," V. Movsisyan told us. "And I must say we are in complete mutual understanding. In order to halt the conflict we must have a clear head and sober judgment. In areas of mixed population I say directly and firmly to the Azerbaijanis: The republic's government asks you to remain and guarantees you safety."

For our part, we add that the imposition of a curfew in many areas of Armenia with a mixed population is in present conditions a substantial manifestation of this guarantee.

The events in the Transcaucasus are also affecting interregional economic links.

"The republic's debt in terms of unsupplied products now amounts to R320 million," Sabir Nikolayevich Stepanyan, chairman of the Armenian SSR Gosplan, frowned—you can see how much it costs him to utter that pitiless sentence. "And one thing I cannot fail to mention is that deliveries to our republic are going even better than in past years. Deliveries of metal, pipes, and

a great deal else are going well. A recent example: Since Monday 5 December the USSR Gossnab has decided to provide the republic with twice its daily fuel ration—the cold season has started and people need heating."

But there are instances when an enterprise's labor rhythm, maintained with the greatest difficulty when others were not working, preferring to hold rallies, is really threatened with collapse now, when the situation is normalizing.

...The Yerevan leather production association named for S. Shaumyan is one of the republic's oldest enterprises. During the entire period of the dramatic events which have caused a ferment in the region the enterprise collective has not lost a single workday through strikes.

"Things are both simple and complex," association director Mekhak Artavazdovich Petrosyan told us. "At the time, back in February, we and the party committee concluded that it was necessary to approach the workers and immediately start explaining the situation. We relied on 150 or so Communists. Slogans were useless—it was necessary to intelligibly and convincingly explain to literally everyone what now was their civic duty and personal interest. And we have been conducting this work nonstop for all these months. We explain why the questions concerning our people cannot be solved by strikes. And people have heeded us."

The collective has worked with a will, and it is prepared to labor even better, but thanks to the workers of the USSR Ministry of Light Industry it has been left without raw materials. On 5 December it received 2.5 million decimeters—enough only for 5-6 days.

Taking into consideration the situation that has taken shape in the republic, such a position is particularly intolerable and, we believe, this should be understood at the USSR Ministry of Light Industry.

On Tuesday all Yerevan's industry, all construction workers, and the city's transport were fully operational. Contacting the republic's Gorisskiy Rayon we learned that, following the partial strikes there, everyone had returned to their workplaces. The collectives of the rayon's enterprises have resolved to work overtime and operate a second shift so as to eliminate the shortfall before the end of the year. Last Saturday and Sunday—as party raykom first secretary Robert Armenakovich Aleksanyan reported—were workdays.

Curfew in Azerbaijan Rayons

LD0712112588 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0300 GMT 6 Dec 88

[Text] On the night of 5 December, [words indistinct] in Baku. It is noted at the same time that, due to the anti-law and order activities of (?bandit)-hooligan gangs, the situation here is being kept fully under the control of military (?units).

The tense situation in Kirovabad and Nakhichevan towns and in the Nagorno-Karabakh Oblast prevails as before. On the night of 5 December, a special situation and curfew has been introduced in 12 more rayons in Azerbaijan in addition to the 5 towns where there is a curfew in operation.

The situation in the Georgian Republic is normal.

USSR Government, Citizens Act To Aid Refugees

Resolution Condemns Evictions

PM0712100788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Dec 88 Second Edition p 1

[CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution of 6 December 1988: "On the Impermissible Actions of Certain Local Organ Officials in the Azerbaijan and Armenian SSR's Forcing Citizens To Leave Their Permanent Places of Residence"]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers note with particular concern that an intolerable situation has arisen in the Azerbaijan SSR and the Armenian SSR, whereby, with the connivance and often the direct participation of certain officials of local party, soviet, and economic organs, extremist groups have been carrying out actions that have led to the mass eviction and exodus of citizens from their permanent places of residence on grounds of nationality. As a result tens of thousands of people from the two republics are homeless and lacking work or means of existence. Soviet people's constitutional rights are thereby being violated and moral and material damage done to them. All this is exacerbating the complex situation in the republics. In many cases local law enforcement organs have not been taking the proper measures to instill order and have not been rebuffing the actions of extremist elements.

For purposes of protecting citizens' rights and putting a stop to the illegal actions of officials of local party, soviet, and economic organs the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers **resolve**:

1. To condemn as a blatant violation of USSR citizens' constitutional rights the actions of certain officials of local party, soviet, and economic organs of the Azerbaijan and Armenian SSR's who have been permitting and conniving in the eviction and exodus of people from their permanent places of residence on grounds of nationality.

2. To demand that the Azerbaijan and Armenian Communist Party Central Committees, the Azerbaijan and Armenian SSR's Councils of Ministers, and law enforcement organs in these republics adopt immediate and resolute measures to put a stop to the aforesaid illegal actions. They must make a strict political assessment of

every instance of such actions. The presence in the party, state apparatus, or law enforcement organs of people who have permitted tyranny and illegality is to be considered inappropriate.

3. The party and soviet organs of the Azerbaijan and Armenian SSR's are to do everything necessary to aid and assist the population who have left their permanent places of residence. Political, organizational, and practical work is to be extensively launched to allow people to return their homes and to normal labor activity.

The government commission is to be given every possible assistance in resolving this acute and urgent problem.

M. Gorbachev, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee

N. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers

Armenians Accomodated in Azerbaijan

LD0712094688 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 6 Dec 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Our special correspondents report from Azerbaijan and Armenia.

[A. Mamedov, correspondent in Azerbaijan SSR; identified by caption] On more than one occasion during the day, there is a staff meeting at the Kasum-Izmailovo Raykom. Dozens of families arrive here from Armenia every day. [video shows meeting in progress]

[A.G. Mamedov, raykom first secretary; identified by caption] So far over (?3,000) people have come to us from Armenia. Today these people (?are being given) very special attention, concentrated attention, so that everyone is fed and housed, and the children go to school. [video shows Mamedov speaking at meeting]

[Correspondent Mamedov] Our common misfortune in the matter of those arriving from the neighboring republic [has been shared] by all the inhabitants of the rayon. In these difficult days, people have shown the very best features of the Soviet people: kindness, sensitivity, and charity. [video shows truck carrying (?beds); people standing around; correspondent interviewing people] Were you received well here?

[Unidentified man] Very well [words indistinct] I am now working here as a machine operator, and the local people have given us a very good reception.

[Correspondent Mamedov] The workers of the Kasum-Izmailovo Rayon have done quite a lot in what is really quite a short period. Two residential settlements, which were intended for specialists from a number of farms, have become a reliable shelter for many families from Armenia. Transport has been allocated to deliver their simple belongings. The rayon consumers' union has supplied extra flour, sugar, and rice. Travelling shops make several journeys every day to various parts of the rayon to deliver essential goods. Let us add to what has been said that farmers and workers at enterprises have contributed to the assistance fund over R40,000 already. [video shows houses in rural setting; food delivery vans; truck with stocks of footwear; sacks of (?flour) on the ground; people standing around]

[A.M. Adilova, kolkhoz chairman; identified by caption] The local residents receive them very well and help them. We have put them in with different families and in clubs, libraries, and schools. We have also placed them in empty houses. People have given them a very warm reception. [video shows her speaking]

[Correspondent Mamedov] The main concern, of course, is for the children. Today you are unlikely to find an empty desk in any classroom. There is good reason for the popular saying "crowded but happy." [video shows children in crowded classroom] There are, of course, many difficulties, but life is getting steadily better. The adults have started work. Soon they will have more to think about, since the rayispolkom is allocating land for individual house-building. Now it is a question of bringing in the building materials. There is a great need for them today. [video shows tractor in field]

'Flow' From Armenia Continues

LD0612171388 Baku Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 6 Dec 88

[Excerpt] Headquarters have been set up in the republic to look after Azerbaijanis who have come from Armenia. They are helping care for those who have left their homes. In Nakhichevan, rural settlements of the autonomous republic accomodate about 10,000 refugees from areas bordering Armenia. The flow of Azerbaijanis continues. Convoys of buses and trucks have been formed (?with the help of civil defense units), which, escorted by soldiers, are taking Azeri citizens to areas [words indistinct] and also Armenian nationals out of the autonomous republic. [passage omitted]

Peace Groups Adopt Appeal

LD0612171288 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1632 GMT 6 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow, 6 Dec (TASS)—The Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace and the Soviet Peace Fund have adopted an appeal to workers in Azerbaijan and Armenia, young people, war and labor veterans, cultural leaders, and scientific and religious figures—to all those taking part in the peacemaking movement of both republics—calling on them to make their weighty pronouncement, which is so necessary to people at this difficult time.

The priority task, the document says, is to halt the tragic course of events. Many mutual hurts and accusations have been accumulated, and they cannot be removed at

a stroke. But we must look to the future, not the past. To this end, we must transcend emotion and start a joint dialogue in a spirit of goodwill.

The most pressing problem today is to provide immediate assistance to the refugees. The Soviet peace movement is making concrete efforts in this direction: From the funds of the Soviet Peace Fund, R1 million have been earmarked for urgent assistance to homeless Azerbaijani and Armenian families. The republican Committees for the Defense of Peace and the Peace Fund branches in Azerbaijan and Armenia, and all activists of the peace movement in both republics, must display humanity and charity toward the people who have left their homes, and surround them with care and attention.

There is nothing more sacred or noble now than to initiate movement toward one another, the appeal stresses.

Charity Appeal for Refugees

PM0612135188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
6 Dec 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "To Rise Above Prejudice and Emotions"]

[Text] The dramatic events in Azerbaijan and Armenia have resulted in grave trials for thousands of people in these republics. Desiring to prevent any further spread of the crisis and to alleviate the situation of migrants [pereselentsy], the Soviet Charity and Health Fund:

appeals to the ancient wisdom of the Azerbaijani and Armenian peoples and to all people of goodwill in the ancient land of the Transcaucasus to rise above prejudice and emotions, to display charity, to offer each other a hand as a sign of reconciliation and good neighborliness, and to apply new efforts to end civil strife along national lines;

appeals to aktiv members of the Soviet Charity and Health Fund in the Azerbaijani and Armenian republics to mobilize all social forces and to render the necessary urgent assistance to migrants in terms of shelter, clothing, food, and work;

appeals to all people with a kind soul and charitable heart to help the Soviet Charity and Health Fund in the collection of funds to assist migrants in the Azerbaijan and Armenian SSR's (Account No 704201 at the USSR Bank for Housing and Municipal Services and Social Development).

PRAVDA on Refugee Problem

PM0612191588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
7 Dec 88 First Edition p 6

[Own special correspondents N. Demidov, Z. Kadymbekov, A. Sarkisyan, and V. Khatuntsev report: "In the Name of Charity"; first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] The 5 December 1988 CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution "On the Most Flagrant Violations of the Constitutional Rights of Azerbaijan SSR and Armenian SSR Citizens" is to become a serious factor in the stabilization of the situation in these two Transcaucasian union republics. It demands that the leadership of both republics resolutely halt any such incidents and work toward the eradication of manifestations of a nationalist and unlawful nature in conditions of broad glasnost.

The perpetrated violations described in the document was one of the reasons which led to the mass migration of people—some from Azerbaijan to Armenia, others from Armenia to Azerbaijan. What is being done to provide assistance for the refugees?

AZERBAIJAN

The central square of the capital, Baku, where rallies were in their 3d week, is now deserted. The chairman of Baku Gorispolkom and the city's prosecutor asked the participants of the unauthorized rally to leave the square. Apart from all else, it was necessary to carry out sanitary measures here because during the long days and nights which thousands of people had spent here the area had become extremely soiled and the threat of an epidemic was very real.

Special military subunits were forced to clear the square, as stated in the report of the military commandant of the Baku special district. Agitators pursuing only one aim—to maintain tension—spread unbelievable rumors about casualties. This lie was refuted in the aforementioned report, which was broadcast several times on local television. After all, no weapons were used in the square.

Calm reigned during the past night. We were told at Baku party gorkom that all the city's enterprises are operating, classes are taking place at all the VUZ's, technical colleges, and vocational and technical schools, and health care establishments, consumer services, and trade enterprises are working normally.

In the current alarming situation it is very important to hear the voice of reason. The party and government resolution on the most flagrant violations of the constitutional rights of Azerbaijan SSR and Armenian SSR citizens is such a voice of reason. Its timeliness is

illustrated by the refugee problem. Where should they be housed, where should food for them be found? Where will their children go to school? All these questions must be resolved without delay.

The government commission to provide assistance to Azerbaijan SSR and Armenian SSR citizens who have left their permanent place of residence is working precisely in this context.

We visited the Azerbaijan SSR's Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic together with members of this commission. We will not conceal that it is painful to listen to people's dramatic accounts of the reasons which forced them leave their houses, livestock, and property—everything they had spent years building up. This is why the members of the government commission, which is made up of representatives of various ministries and departments of the country, are trying promptly to coordinate efforts to find housing for the refugees and provide them with immediate assistance. At the same time, in our discussions with the citizens who had left Armenia and Azerbaijan the possibility of their return home was examined.

We asked G. Isayev, first secretary of Nakhichevan party obkom, to tell us what specifically will be done for those who have decided, despite everything, to stay here in the autonomous republic.

It is already being done, he corrected me. The local house-building combine has started up the production of components for small houses. Parts for this type of houses are beginning to arrive from other parts of the republic. So far it has been necessary to convert schools to temporarily accommodate people and many Nakhichevan inhabitants are sharing their apartments with the families which have arrived.

On 5 December television carried the speech by A.-R.Kh. Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, to a meeting of the party-economic aktiv. A thorough analysis of the situation which has developed in the region was made. Special attention was paid to the problems of people forced to leave their permanent places of residence.

ARMENIA

Yes, everyone should draw serious lessons from what has happened—party organizations, local organs of power, and those representatives of the intelligentsia whose emotional appeals have made the atmosphere so heated.

"Today the main task is to stop the flood of refugees from both sides," S. Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, said in a conversation with your PRAVDA correspondents. "We have agreed to be guided by the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution 'On the Most Flagrant Violations of the Constitutional Rights of Azerbaijan SSR and Armenian SSR Citizens.' Any instance of incitement to dismiss people on ethnic grounds will be given a strict party appraisal and, where necessary, the law will be applied. Particularly intolerable are cases of inhuman, essentially criminal intimidation of citizens of any nationality, who are forced to flee their homes, abandoning to the whims of fate their farms and everything they have worked for. Nothing can justify this tragedy! Tens of thousands of families are suffering and people are being caused a deep moral trauma whose consequences we will feel for a long time to come. But it is particularly for the children that one's heart bleeds ..."

The government commission led by B.Ye. Shcherbina, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, which has arrived here was confronted with this highly complex mass of problems right from the very start. With the help of the commission extra food and material and technical resources are being allocated from all-union funds to assist the victims. Fuel, building materials, and prefabricated houses will be supplied...

This kind of assistance is essential today. However, to be frank, this is not only connected with the enormous flood of refugees but also with the fact that until very recently Armenia has been in the grip of continuing strikes.

How and where are jobs to be found for the new arrivals? Where are they to be housed in the future when they leave their temporary refuges—boarding houses and hostels? The republic's labor collectives have decided to allocate the refugees part of the housing stock under construction. Many residents are playing an ardent part in their fate. For example, M. Sarkisyan and A. Oganesyan, who live in Talinskiy Rayon, went to their rayispolkom with the suggestion that they hand over their own homes to house people arriving from Azerbaijan. The republic's special aid bank account has received more than R3 million.

We visited Armenia's Masisskiy Rayon, where Armenians and Azerbaijanis lived together until recently.

"Unfortunately, we have been abandoned by people many of whom had a good knowledge of agriculture," A. Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party raykom, said. "We are not absolving ourselves of blame for what has happened. But, believe me, it is virtually impossible to fight people's fear with even the most reasonable arguments. Nevertheless, until recently, despite the well-known circumstances, we had managed to avoid any serious incidents."

Yesterday it became known that the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace and the Soviet Peace Fund have informed republic-level bodies in Armenia and Azerbaijan of their decision to donate more than R1 million to the refugee aid fund.

We would like to remind our readers and everyone concerned with the dramatic events taking place in the Transcaucasus that the Soviet Health and Charity Fund is appealing to everyone to help collect funds to aid immigrants in the Azerbaijan SSR and the Armenian SSR—account no 704201 of the USSR Bank of Housing and Municipal Services and Social Development.

'Explosive Situation' Prevails in Armenia

Rayon Officials Dismissed

LD0612192888 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 6 Dec 88

[Text] [Viktor Levin] And now, the situation in Armenia and Azerbaijan. First, we present a dispatch from Yerevan by our special correspondents Yuriy Korotkov and Kuryun Khomaryan:

[Korotkov] It seems to me that when we speak about the situation in Armenia, we should differentiate between Yerevan and certain areas of the republic and the mixed population. Whereas in the Armenian capital the situation is in the main calm, all industrial enterprises are operating, and there are no incidents or crimes, in a number of areas of the republic the situation is complex. There has been loss of life in Kalininskiy, Stepanavanskiy, Masiskiy, and Pugarskiy rayons. As a result of this, the military command has been compelled to impose from 5 December a special situation and a curfew in 16 of Armenia's rayons. Thus, a number of special measures regulating the life and activity of citizens and the work of offices, enterprises, and other public buildings are being brought into operation. Anyone failing to comply with the instructions and orders of the military and local authorities will be subjected to administrative and criminal proceedings. As stressed in the appeal to the Armenian population by Lieutenant General Samsonov, military commandant of a particular rayon, these enforced measures have been dictated by absolute necessity and are aimed at protecting the rights and dignity of Soviet people.

[Khomaryan] The situation which has emerged in the republic, it was stated at a recent meeting of the Bureau of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, was the result of crude miscalculations and errors in the activities of party, local soviet, and law-and-order bodies who were unable to achieve a fundamental turning point in improving the moral-psychological climate in workers' collectives and educational establishments, or mobilizing their forces into preventing clashes on an interethnic basis.

The Bureau of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee has made it incumbent upon the party city and rayon committees, the first secretaries personally, and the law-and-order bodies, to head the work on stabilizing the situation and restoring law and order.

It examined the question of the inter-ethnic conflict and its tragic consequences in Gugarkskiy Rayon. In pointing out the political short-sightedness shown by Bagdasaryan, first secretary of the raykom, and Kazaryan, chairman of the rayispolkom, the Bureau pronounced severe sentences on them and their records have been endorsed. Raykom First Secretary Bagdasaryan has been released from his duties, and it has been deemed impossible for Kazaryan to continue in his office as chairman of the rayispolkom.

The unsatisfactory work of the Yekhegnadzorskiy Raykom and the rayispolkom has also been noted. The first secretary of the raykom and the chairman of the rayispolkom have had severe party proceedings taken against them, and the raykom has been instructed to take urgent measures to improve the moral-political situation in the rayon.

Official Bodies Lack 'Firmness'

LD0712112988 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 2200 GMT 6 Dec 88

[Text] A regular session of the Central Committee Bureau of the Armenian Communist Party has been held. It examined the urgent task of preventing instances of interethnic clashes. It was noted that a tense, explosive situation prevails in Armenia. In recent days, this has assumed an overtly threatening character. Conflicts and clashes along ethnic lines have become sharper and more widespread in all regions with a mixed Armenian-Azeri population. The reciprocal flow of refugees has grown. In a number of instances, events have gotten out of control and caused loss of human life. The republic has found itself at an extremely dangerous (?cliff edge). A particularly tense situation has been created in the Gugark, Stepanavan, Koris, Kalinino, Arafat, Vartenis, and other rayons.

Party, soviet, and komsomol bodies are failing to show the appropriate firmness in the situation that has been created. There is a lack of a clear political line, arising from the true interests of working people, in the work of many of them.

Many items published in the press and broadcast over the air incite emotions and passions and cause a deterioration in the situation.

The Armenian Ministry for Internal Affairs and its local bodies did not embark upon decisive measures to stop clashes along ethnic lines and failed to fulfill the tasks necessary for ensuring the security of the population.

Troops Assist in Gugarkskiy Rayon

PM0612140388 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 6 Dec 88 First Edition p 4

[Special Correspondent Major O. Vladykin report under the general heading "Problems Remain: Our Special Correspondents Report from the Transcaucasus"]

[Text] In Kirovakan city, as in a number of other Armenian cities, rallies and demonstrations have ceased and there are no pickets to be seen on the streets.

Transport, stores, enterprises, and institutions are working uninterruptedly and classes are in progress in schools. Nevertheless, it cannot be said that all is calm here. You constantly meet convoys of trucks on the city's streets. These are convoys of refugees. More and more of them are arriving in Armenia from Azerbaijan every day.

In Shaumyan settlement, Kirovakan's closest suburb, an entire district of good quality stone houses stands empty. Their owners have left them and gone to Azerbaijan. They went in a hurry taking only the essentials with them.

A special situation has not been introduced in Kirovakan and adjacent regions. Nevertheless, soldiers can often be seen here. For example, L. Bagdasaryan, first secretary of Gugarkskiy CPSU Raykom, asked the nearest units of the Transcaucasus Military District to help to maintain public order. And with good reason: Clashes between people of Armenian and Azeri nationality are continuing.

I asked Major General A. Ryabtsev to comment on the situation:

"We are aware of the critical situation which exists in Gugarkskiy Rayon. A team of army medics has recently gone to Aydarly, taking three ambulances with them. The local leadership has promised to restore the electricity supply and passenger transport and to bring in foodstuffs.

"Yes, the situation remains tense. People are still ruled by their emotions."

Situation 'Stabilized' in Yerevan

LD0712121288 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1127 GMT 7 Dec 88

[Text] Yerevan, 7 Dec (TASS)—Life in the capital of Armenia has returned to its customary routine. On 6 December all industrial enterprises and construction workers were working, and there were no disruptions in the movement of municipal transport.

The economic situation has also stabilized in the other towns and rayons of the republic.

The main task which now has to be addressed by labor collectives, said O. Danielyan, secretary of the Yerevan Gorkom, is to make up the losses incurred by the production stoppage at the end of last month. All possibilities are being utilized for this. Thus, last Saturday, 102 enterprises were working, although according to the rest day schedule there should have been only about 50 of them.

KOMMUNIST Chief Editor on Nationality Issue

AU0612115888 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 1 Dec 88 p 7

[Article by V. Jancura, Bratislava PRAVDA permanent correspondent in Moscow: "N. Bikkenin Comments on Session of USSR Supreme Soviet; The Party Is at Head of Political Reforms"]

[Excerpts] Yesterday evening [30 November] we met with N. Bikkenin, chief editor of KOMMUNIST, the CPSU Central Committee's theoretical and political journal, and asked him to explain to us, if possible in a broad context, what has happened up to now at the 12th extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Answering our questions, he said, among other things: [passage omitted]

I am aware that the current session is being held against the background of the familiar events in the Baltic region and the unrest in the Transcaucasian republics. Their impact can also be felt very clearly in the Great Kremlin Palace. In my opinion what happened was, first of all, a consequence of the long underestimation of the nationality issue. Theoretical treatment of this subject stopped in our country with the last of V.I. Lenin's works in 1923. The whole essence of the problem was afterwards reduced to the thesis on the convergence [zblizovani] and flourishing of the nations. Therefore, we were not prepared, not even theoretically, for the present situation. We do not even know how to cope with the term sovereignty. As a result, so much speculation has arisen around it.

Second, in our country national and nationalistic were long regarded as being identical. For example, in the period of stagnation there was the dogma that any demand to expand national schools or the use of one's mother tongue borders on nationalism. People's national feelings were held in contempt. The mistaken slogan about the fusion of nations used to be stressed. Although we can find this formulation in Lenin's works, it is obvious from the context, however, that what he was interested in was the political unity of the nations and not in liquidating the languages or eliminating the cultural barriers between them.

Where do I see the solution to the situation in the Baltic and Transcaucasian republics? Where the leadership of our party and society also sees it: on the road of democracy, glasnost, on the road of sensible compromise and tact. In this connection, too, I again invoke V.I.Lenin, who, even in the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, was a convinced proponent of democracy. But at the same time he warned: Democracy must not go as far as being callous. What could he have meant by that? Lenin used to say that it is impossible to seek the truth without human emotions. However, emotions in politics must remain under the strict control of common

sense. Otherwise there might be excesses. The needs of national feelings must be satisfied, and, at the same time, one must strictly reject obviously nationalistic demands.

In this respect a particularly great responsibility rests on the Communist Parties of the individual union republics. Lenin used to teach that the Communists of big nations must combat, above all, chauvinism, and the Communists of small nations must combat, in particular, nationalism. But both of them must do it from internationalist positions.

Certainly, the current events in Armenia and Azerbaijan also have other causes. The leaderships of the two republics were sharply criticized at the July 1987 CPSU Central Committee session. For corruption and other abuses. I do not think that it was necessary to postpone the recall of their corrupt ranking functionaries that long. They made use of the time to divert the attention of a dissatisfied public, and give it nationalistic orientation.

However, I will say openly that I too was not satisfied with the speeches of the deputies of the Armenian and Azerbaijan SSR at the current session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. They lacked a constructive spirit and readiness for a productive dialogue.

The strength of each political party comes from its ability to develop initiative. This initiative wins it mass support. The CPSU, too, shows this ability today, the sphere of the nationality policy included. However, as Communists, we must adopt an uncompromising position more often, especially when our main principles are in jeopardy. In this sense the extreme "flexibility" of some comrades from Estonia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan does not help to strengthen the situation in their republics. [passage omitted]

Kazakh SSR Releases Kamalidenov 'for Health'

LD0612150988 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1436 GMT 6 Dec 88

[Text] Alma-Ata, 6 Dec (TASS)—The state plan for economic and social development and the budget of the republic for 1989, progress in fulfilling the plan for 1988, and the execution of the budget for 1987 were submitted for the consideration of the deputies of the session of the Supreme Soviet of the Kazakh SSR which was held today.

An important feature of the state plan and budget of Kazakhstan for 1989 is their orientation toward work, taking into account the development of the new economic mechanism. In particular, the portion of the state order has been limited, the range and volumes of centrally allocated material resources have been reduced, and great attention has been paid to the development of direct economic relations.

The deputies adopted the law on the state plan for the economic and social development of the Kazakh SSR for 1989 and confirmed the state budget of the republic for the same year. Decrees of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Kazakh SSR have also been confirmed.

The Supreme Soviet of the Kazakh SSR released Zakash Kamalidenov from his duties as chairman of the Presidium of the republic supreme soviet for health reasons and at his personal request.

Medvedev Restructuring Speech to Latvian Aktiv

PM0712121388 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 20 Nov 88 pp 1-2

[LATINFORM account of speech by V.A. Medvedev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at the 14 November meeting with the Latvian party, soviet, and ideological aktiv: "Devoting Our Deeds and Our Unity to Restructuring. V.A. Medvedev's Speech at Meeting With the Republic's Party, Soviet, and Ideological Aktiv"—place not given]

[Text] Esteemed Comrades!

In the last 4 days Ya.Ya. Vagris [Latvian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary] and I have met with the republic's working people in various auditoriums and and on the street, have made many speeches, and have touched on a wide range of problems of the country's life, of the sociopolitical situation in the republic, and of our common work for restructuring. I can see here in the hall many comrades with whom I have already met. They took part to one extent or another in our conversations and debates. Now I am faced with quite a complex task—summing up my impressions and singling out the chief, main thing about them.

There can be no doubt that the determining factor in social life is now the offspring of the CPSU Central Committee April plenum—our restructuring. In terms of time it has come a comparatively short way—just 3 and ½ years. But it has already produced colossal—indeed, it would be no exaggeration to say historic—results. These consist primarily in the fact that the atmosphere in the country has changed radically. Today our society has changed, the party has changed, people have changed—they have really risen up to lead an active social life and are widely involved in the process of historical creation.

Thanks to democratization, glasnost, openness, and self-critical—and one might almost say ruthless—analysis, today we have a good idea of the complex situation in which the country found itself as a result of stagnation and the deformation and distortion of socialist principles. An analysis of our history helps us to gain a better grasp of today's problems and, most importantly, to determine future paths of development. We have formulated a program for restructuring society and have embarked on its practical implementation.

One of the main results of the restructuring that has begun is the restoration and elevation of our party's prestige and the great credit of trust that the people have extended to it. To this should be added the fact that the prestige of our party and our state in the international arena have also increased literally before our very eyes. Restructuring has riveted the attention of the broad international public, which is expressing genuine interest in its further fate. And the 19th party conference crowns, as it were, this whole past stage of restructuring. At the same time it opens up a new period of development—a period of the large-scale practical implementation of the projected measures.

Heated arguments, debates, and rallies are no longer enough, although they will continue, of course. But you cannot resolve practical matters by this means alone. To combine words with action, the broad, rally democratism of the masses with society's real progress and with the restructuring of forms and methods of work, is the leading imperative of our time and is, in fact, the people's chief demand. The working people's trust in and support for the party are great. People understand the situation. They see its complexity and are aware of the scale and novelty of the tasks that await us. But they expect more resolute action and weightier results from the party, the state, and social organizations. And it is this that determines the specific nature of the present moment, it is this that constitutes the crux of our tasks today.

The fate of restructuring is determined ultimately by the real return on our work in the socioeconomic sector. Here it is simultaneously necessary to resolve the most vital, urgent questions and to lay down fundamental, long-term goals whose implementation will determine our country's attainment of the highest level of scientific, technical, and economic development.

The method that was used in the past will not do for us—first tightening belts, summoning up patience, and working enthusiastically for 5 or 10 years, and then beginning to reap the fruits. Even in the past this did not produce the desired results. Restructuring must be conducted in such a way that it is simultaneously combined with an improvement in the people's life and an increase in their material and social well-being.

The food problem is probably the most vital one here. Its acuteness is felt everywhere, including your republic. Comrades have spoken of it today from this rostrum. To provide people with adequate supplies of food products is a party concern. The party Central Committee is currently carrying out serious preparations for a Central Committee plenum on questions of agrarian policy and the solution of the food problem. This is the topic of the major all-union conference in Orel in which the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and the leaders of union and autonomous republics, krays, and oblasts are taking part. Your republic also needs to join more actively in work to prepare for the plenum.

I was able to see for myself that there are tremendous problems here and at the same time great opportunities during my brief but full visit to Yekabpilsskiy Rayon, where I was familiarized with the work of the agricultural association and the agricultural firm. The figures for the republic also indicate this. In short, the food problem must be in the forefront. And at the same time it is also necessary to resolve the task of saturating the market with industrial goods and to pay unflagging attention to housing, medical services, education, and other social questions.

We are at an exceptionally important point in the implementation of the radical economic reform. The transfer of enterprises and associations in the material production sector to full economic accountability is to be completed by the new year, and the process of introducing the principles of economic accountability into the work of individual regions, oblasts, and republics is gathering strength. This is necessary in order to ensure that the income of each person, each collective, each resident of a territorial region, and each republic is closely linked with the results of their labor, and that wages are without fail linked to the production of high-quality output needed by our society and the market.

We are at a turning point in the development of production relations and ownership relations themselves. These changes are based on overcoming people's alienation from the means of production and turning them into genuine masters. This is an exceptionally important aspect of the economic reform. Unless we achieve an emphatic breakthrough here and create effective economic incentives for highly productive, conscientious labor which interest everyone in making the greatest efforts, no organizational forms, no clever economic decisions, and no progressive technologies will produce results.

The fate of the economic reform is also to a considerable extent linked with improving the financial health of the national economy, reforming price formation and material and technical supply, and ensuring a balanced market. We must also solve these problems in the remaining 2 years of the 5-year plan so that we can embark on the next—13th—5-year plan with a developed economic mechanism based not on administrative-edict but on economic methods of leadership. We will thereby open up broad scope for accelerating scientific and technical progress and implementing the most important programs for boosting our society which we have elaborated and which are called upon to bring the economy up to the most advanced international level.

Today, comrades, questions of the reform of the political system have been brought to the fore of the party's activity and into the center of the debate that has developed. And these are probably the most important issues in terms of their importance to restructuring. After all, it is a question of mighty progress in implementing

the fundamental political principle of socialism—working people's sovereignty and their practical participation in resolving all state and social affairs. It is a question of overcoming the people's alienation from power. We see this—unleashing people's initiative and their social, labor, and creative activeness—as the main sociopolitical source of our development and of Soviet society's creative strength and as a source which has still by no means been fully revealed.

The party began the reform of the political system with itself. With the clearer definition of its own role as society's political vanguard, with the restructuring of the content and methods of its work, and with getting rid of functions that do not properly belong to it, those of directly intervening in state management, and, even more so, in the solution of particular economic problems. The reorganization of the party apparatus, which is called upon to ensure that the party performs its role precisely as political vanguard, is in full swing in the center and at local level. You know of the decisions adopted at the Central Committee plenum in late September concerning the formation of Central Committee commissions on the main spheres of its activity and the reorganization of the party apparatus.

The restructuring of party organs and the structure and methods of party leadership is taking place in conditions of the holding of a report and election campaign in the party. In many respects this campaign is proceeding differently from before. The report and election meetings that have now been completed in primary organizations show this quite vividly. I can tell you that in half the cases the secretaries of primary organizations were elected from two or more candidates. Communists have begun to be more exacting in their assessment of the work of elected party organs and their own leaders. The work of party bureaus and party committees was assessed as unsatisfactory considerably more often than in the last report and election campaign.

Of course, not everything is yet proceeding in the new way. There is much that is traditional, and inertia and existing stereotypes are taking their toll. However, the new approach is carving its way forward step by step.

Rayon party conferences have begun. They have been held in a number of rayons of your republic too. [Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Second Secretary] A.V. Gorbunov told me about the new approach to preparing and holding the conference in one rayon. There the party committee members familiarized themselves with its report in advance, and not only the party committee members, but all the Communists and working people of the rayon. This is very, very important. Opinions about possible candidates for membership of the party raykom and also for membership of the bureau and for secretary were studied. The actual discussion at the conference was exceptionally lively and committed.

All these are characteristic signs of our time. Of course, the restructuring of party work is only beginning and there is still a great deal to be done here to ensure that the party, ridding itself of functions that do not properly belong to it, properly performs the role of society's political vanguard.

The reorganization of our state apparatus has also begun. Its point is quite clear—to restore the sovereignty of the soviets and turn them into effective organs of socialist democracy implementing the genuine functions of masters on their territory.

Discussion of the two most important documents with which the restructuring of the political system has begun—the draft laws on amendments and additions to the constitution and on the electoral system—is developing in the country. The Supreme Soviet Presidium is receiving many letters and the overwhelming majority of them regard the draft laws as a further step forward along the path of democratization, along the path of implementing the decisions of the 19th party conference.

They constitutionally enshrine a new structure of supreme organs of state power and define their functions. It is a question of the powers of the Congress of People's Deputies and the Supreme Soviet, which is acquiring a new face and new functions; of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, the chairman of the Supreme Soviet, and so forth. All this in no way diverges from the decisions of the 19th party conference.

The procedure for forming the above-mentioned organs ensures the representation of the broadest strata of the population, all classes, social groups, and social strata, and all nations and nationalities in our country. It is envisaged that not only the formation but also the functioning of these organs will be deeply democratic. As for the new electoral law, its draft, in accordance with the party conference decisions, also ensures considerable progress along the path of democratization. There is the system of multiple-mandate okrugs, the procedure envisaging the inclusion on ballot papers of at least two candidates, as a rule, and other points that our public has been and is discussing so heatedly.

There is an increasing flow of proposals regarding various aspects of the structure of statewide organs, the division of functions between them, and various aspects of the new electoral system. Such proposals and remarks have been voiced here today. They are all being carefully examined and taken into account.

At the same time I cannot overlook a reaction of a very different kind which categorically rejects the published drafts in what amounts to an ultimatum on the grounds that they are at variance with the decisions of the 19th party conference and contain some limitation of democracy and strengthening of the principle of centralism.

The collection of signatures for letters and petitions in this spirit has even begun, banners are being paraded, and an unhealthy psychological atmosphere is being fueled.

I have already had to speak out many times on this question to all sorts of audiences. Beginning with the republic's leading jurists, with whom we went over all their remarks and objections in detail, step by step, and ending with students and even groups of people in the streets. To put in a nutshell the essence of these conversations, it is as follows.

First, the draft laws submitted for discussion represent not a new constitution but amendments to the existing constitution. However, the idea—goodness knows where it has sprung from—that it is a question of adopting a new constitution is widespread. Possibly, indeed, certainly, in the future it will be necessary to revise the constitution as a whole—there is much in it that is obsolete, beginning with the preambles. But that is not what is at issue now.

Second, the published drafts relate not to all aspects of our legislation, not to all problems of a constitutional nature, but only to those that have a bearing on the structure of the supreme organs of state power and also the electoral system. As for other problems of improving legislation, for instance, the regulation of the national state structure, the rights and prerogatives of republics and local organs, citizenship, language, and so forth, these problems are not broached at all in the documents in question. So it would be wrong to seek answers to such questions in the drafts.

Third, as far as the sphere to which they relate is concerned, I can reaffirm with the utmost responsibility: In their fundamental provisions they are in full accordance with the spirit and the letter of the decisions of the 19th party conference. It is a question merely of their legislative formalization, of giving them an appropriate juridical form. To a question that has often been raised—Who is the author of the amendments to the constitution?—I can give the following answer: Their author is essentially the 19th all-union party conference.

Both draft laws are the result of collective work at the party, state level, and subsequently—after the conference—the work was carried out on a democratic basis, by a commission formed by the Central Committee plenum and by constitutional organs of the Supreme Soviet including representatives of all republics.

It is also being said that there is not enough time for discussion—a little over a month. But it must be borne in mind that the main, fundamental provisions relating to the structure of the supreme organs of state power were the subject of the liveliest discussion for several months before the party conference and at the conference itself, and that even since the conference this topic has not disappeared from the agenda in public debates.

Fourth, the adoption of the two drafts is not the conclusion but the start of work to restructure the political system. Preparation has begun of other legislative acts, including ones on regional and above all republican economic accountability, draft laws on local self-management and the local economy, and also ones covering the range of questions contained in the Central Committee resolution on preparing for the plenum on problems of interethnic relations.

Frankly, it is difficult to understand the motives behind the downright political campaign against the two drafts which has been mounted in the Baltic republics, which is not abating despite repeated explanations of all the key provisions. Especially as it is a question of only the first step in restructuring the political system, without which the next steps in deepening and developing the reform cannot be taken. The objective result is that the campaign is creating confusion in people's minds, is causing an unhealthy ballyhoo, and essentially is aimed against restructuring.

For those people who have some doubts in this situation, I want to say firmly and clearly that our party has embarked definitively and irrevocably on the path of democratization and we will not deviate from this path. There is simply no alternative.

I think it would be extremely necessary and timely to widely involve the republic party-economic aktiv in explanatory work on the drafts. The republic's working people must obtain a correct idea of the draft laws that are under discussion, grasp all the fundamental questions, and see for themselves that in elaborating the political reform the party is firmly following the course of the 19th all-union party conference. Both in the center and at the local level it is necessary to do everything to help create the most favorable conditions for carrying out both explanatory work and work to improve the proposed drafts. The way is clear for constructive proposals and remarks.

Comrades! The improvement of interethnic relations assumes special importance in conditions of restructuring, democratization, and the creation of a rule-of-law state. During the years of socialist building tremendously important work has been done in this sphere, and impressive results have been achieved in ensuring the equality of nations and nationalities, strengthening fraternal relations between peoples, and carrying out the international education of working people. At the same time many questions requiring solutions have gradually accumulated in the sphere of interethnic relations.

Relying on what has been achieved and learning lessons from the past, it is necessary to raise to a new level all work to improve interethnic relations; and to formulate effective measures to implement a Leninist nationalities policy at the present stage. The most important thing is to harmonize the interests of all the country's nations and nationalities—on the basis of the principles of

socialist internationalism, autonomy [samostoyatelnost] and responsibility, and mutual assistance and fraternity. And thereby to ensure the strengthening and further development of our multinational union state.

The CPSU Central Committee plenum on interethnic questions will be held in the middle of next year. This work will be based on the political guidelines of the 19th all-union party conference. But right now, without waiting for the plenum, it is necessary to take vigorous steps to remove as far as possible acute questions concerning the development of national culture and language and complicating the situation, especially in the social sector, and to purposefully resolve the problems that really exist in the republic.

One such problem is the recruitment of cadres from outside for work in the republic, mostly in industry and construction. It is obvious that this has led to an unfavorable demographic situation for the indigenous population. At the same time, inaccurate, superficial, or simply prejudiced views are rife in the analysis of this problem and ways of solving it. One view holds that someone has been and is working specially to ensure that the proportion of Letts among the republic's population declines steadily. I have already spoken out on this score, but by way of confirmation of my understanding of the question, I want to cite yet another point.

The point is that the the problem of so-called migrants, although that is not a term I would advocate in this case, is by no means a "Latvian" or even a "Baltic" one. It is the direct consequence of the extensive development of productive forces. For decades Moscow, Leningrad, and many other industrial cities, major construction projects, and entire regions of the country could not manage without an influx of manpower from outside.

The narrowly departmental approach bred a desire to locate new enterprises where the infrastructure already existed. And little thought was given to the lack of manpower resources, for hopes were placed on "shipping in" manpower. They also did not trouble themselves about the social sphere. This led to an accumulation of unsolved problems which acquired a national aspect in the republic.

There are no grounds for perceiving here a malicious intent on someone's part regarding the population of this or that republic. Yet matters are reaching the point where there is talk that the republic's status is in jeopardy. It must be stated with the utmost clarity: These are sheer fantasies, and they obviously emanate from those who have an interest in complicating the nationalities question in Latvia.

And it is quite unjust to make any complaints about the people who have come to the republic to live and work here. They came by invitation, and most of them have worked honestly throughout the past years and even now are making their contribution to the republic's economy. Notwithstanding all that, the problem that is worrying the Letts must meet with a positive solution, but without fail on the basis of democratic measures and respect for the rights and dignity of every citizen. Reliance on administrative edict methods has already repeatedly gotten us into plenty of trouble. This is the fundamental failing of the entire former system of economic management and the source of many of the social problems that we are trying to get rid of.

To assess the demographic situation in the republic soberly and without prejudice (and I have exchanged opinions on this question with the leaders of your enterprises and with economists), it can be said that the chronic strain in the balance of manpower resources is based primarily on the slow pace of scientific and technical progress and shortcomings in the retooling of production. The depreciation of fixed production capital is quite high in Latvia's enterprises, the targets for the development of science and technology are not being fulfilled, and the proportion of workers employed in manual labor is declining only slowly.

There are also problems in the question of the reproduction of cadres of skilled workers and engineering and technical personnel among members of the indigenous nationality. It can hardly be regarded as correct when the republic does not train enough engineers in a whole series of specialities for an advanced major association like "Alfa."

A purposeful policy for regulating jobs is needed. In this respect too the union republics' powers and rights are now being substantially expanded. They must be fully utilized, primarily on the basis not of administrative but of economic methods of managing demographic processes. This will be in the spirit of humanism and of the observance of human rights, in the spirit of the social protection of people under socialism.

Among the focal questions of interethnic relations, the definition of the republic's place in the all-union division of labor cannot be overlooked. The Latvian SSR plays a major, increasing role in the country's national economic complex. Today the republic has won recognition in the country as a powerful center of the processing, electronics, and radioelectronics industries and as a producer of communications facilities. The VEF and "Alfa" production associations, which I have been able to visit, are in the very forefront of scientific and technical progress. But all these end-product sectors that are developing so successfully in the republic have close production ties, and their functioning depends to a tremendous extent on support from the base sectors of the country's economy—metallurgy, the power industry, and others.

As for agriculture, Latvia is an acknowledged region of intensive meat and dairy production. This specialization is ensured and bolstered by deliveries of feed grain from centralized stocks, which cover 60 percent of the requirements for it; requirements for food grain are also wholly

covered for the republic. Fertilizers are allocated for intensive farming to a considerably greater extent than for the other republics and the union as a whole.

All this enables Latvia to advance and to enhance the efficiency of its economy. Its further development is certainly possible only in conditions of a broad division of labor, both within the union and internationally. And not only in the traditional form of the exchange of finished output, but primarily on the basis of profound production sharing and specialization. The transition to more progressive economic forms must also be promoted by the implementation of the idea of republican economic accountability, which is now being vigorously discussed.

I will note that this idea was put forward back at the 27th party congress and was developed in the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference. It is closely linked with the law on local self-management that is being elaborated, and it fully coincides with the course of democratizing society and democratizing management. Territorial and republican economic accountability concern the most sensitive aspects of relations between republics, krays, and oblasts and they have a direct bearing on the development of the social sector of people's everyday lives. Naturally, decisions on this question must be formulated collectively and must be well considered and thoroughly thought out.

We proceed from the premise that the development of this direction of the economic reform must not lead to regional isolation, autarky, and work only for oneself, as it were. Anyhow, it would be impossible to curtail, still less break, the existing economic links. This would contradict both our domestic interests and the determining trends in contemporary international economic, scientific, and technical development. Even big countries cannot maintain scientific and technical standards at an equally high level in all sectors and all sectors of the economy.

It would also be wrong if republican economic accountability merely replaced union centralism with republican centralism and the diktat of [central] departments with parochialism. The true point of regional economic accountability is to transfer all enterprises, regardless of their subordination, to full economic accountability and to place their relations with local organs on a firm, normative foundation. The republic's income and its potential in improving people's lives must be made directly dependent on the efficiency of the work of the enterprises and organizations located on its territory.

A few words about ecology. The republic's public has reason to pat itself on the back over the fact that, having loudly sounded the alarm about the ecological situation, it has held off a really great danger looming over Latvia. But the question is this—will the environment improve if the public continues to be satisfied with the role of accuser?

Certainly, union ministries, above all, must be held strictly accountable. As the republic begins to gain—both legally and in fact—considerably greater autonomy, this accountability will be increasingly fruitful. But it is also obvious that a large proportion of the discharge of pollutants comes from enterprises under the jurisdiction of republican and local organs. A whole series of cities fail year in, year out to commission antipollution installations, and the commissioning dates for some of these expired in the last 5-year plan or even before. So here, too, in conserving nature, what is needed is the consolidation of efforts, not just rallies in its defense. Although rallies too are necessary, it is practical deeds above all that count.

The shifting of blame from some quarters to others and the transfer of ecological problems to the plane of national ones will not help nature. Vigorous, coordinated action is needed.

Language policy is a central issue in interethnic relations. Our party's line here is perfectly clear and has been repeatedly confirmed. Its essence lies in rigorous compliance with Leninist principles and in recognizing any language's right to free and full development. This is an extremely sensitive spot. Neither the slightest coercion nor the slightest administration-by-decree is permissible here. Every one of you is well aware of that.

What does artificially placing limits on a language's development mean? It means restricting culture and placing fetters on the people's spiritual development. No one wants this in our country, which has an exceptional interest in augmenting the general intellectual and cultural potential. Command of Russian, Latvian, Georgian, German, Kirghiz, and other languages impoverishes no one; on the contrary, it enriches them.

Internationalism certainly does not consist of knowing Russian at the expense of forgetting another language that is your native language. Just as concern for the native language is not a counterweight to knowing Russian and other languages—that is certainly no kind of nationalism. The understanding of this is manifested in reality in respect for each people's language and in the creation of conditions for its development and study.

It is gratifying that the great mass of Latvia's Russian-speaking population wants to learn the language of your republic's indigenous nationality. At the same time, I have been told that the satisfaction of these natural demands sometimes runs up against considerable difficulties. There is nowhere to study and there is a shortage of appropriately trained teacher and lecturer cadres.

Presumably all this is comparatively easy to rectify. The practical steps being taken in this direction are absolutely correct. But it is important not to needlessly exacerbate the language problem and not to transfer it to

the dimension of national confrontation. On the contrary, it must be solved calmly and consistently in light of people's real demands and needs.

Grounds for mutual recriminations between representatives of different nations and nationalities often arise when there is a lack of authentic knowledge. In particular, as I have been able to see during my stay in the republic, this is manifested in certain interpretations of Latvia's historical past, especially the Soviet period. My opinion is this: The truth about the past, whatever it may be, must be presented in full, on a rigorously scientific basis. You cannot degrade anything or anyone with the truth. You can degrade only by telling lies, which we reject.

But it is important for history, as the subject has come up, to be measured by its own large-scale historical yardstick. In my view, sweeping attempts—without serious research, relying only on arbitrarily chosen facts—to revise assessments of crucial events and processes are irresponsible. It is impermissible to draw hasty conclusions on most serious historical problems to suit group prejudices and under the influence of emotions.

I think it is wrong to portray any single people as victims unless other peoples escaped a similar fate. There is no nation or nationality in our country, no republic that did not experience the consequences of arbitrariness and national and other social injustice during the years of the personality cult and stagnation. And it would be the greatest mistake to pile new injustices on top of old ones. History shows that no people can be happy at the expense and to the detriment of another.

Let us simply look to the future, let us base it on the Leninist principles, which are tried and tested by socialist experience, of mutual respect and international fraternity. It must always be remembered that restructuring cannot be implemented without unity among our country's peoples. And disunity and confrontation between peoples constitute the main danger to restructuring. People have spoken of this here, citing Leninist principles. Indeed, we must take Lenin as he really was and be guided by the spirit of his teachings.

The most important thing now, comrades, and in this I want to support a number of speakers, is the consolidation of social forces. Consolidation is not a concession to someone. We all need it, and everyone whose heart aches for restructuring needs it. Consciousness of our common responsibility and the understanding by all citizens of the need for calm, considered public dialogue that is full of realism and common sense lead to unification on the basis of the fundamental principles of revolutionary renewal. Undemocratic, strong-arm methods, insulting attacks, and displays of impatience are impermissible. But they exist in the republic. And they often acquire an aggressive character that threatens the process of renewal and restructuring. It is worrying that in this atmosphere in some places there is a demarcation on the basis of nationality in labor collectives, among young people, and, still more worrisome, among party members.

At the same time it is clear that in all strata of Latvia's population there is a growing understanding of the need to break the negative trends and to prevent them from escalating further. A great deal here depends on the working class' vigorous participation in the unification of social forces. Its cementing role in defending the fundamental values of socialism and its internationalism are a most important factor in surmounting national disunity and creating favorable opportunities to consolidate relations of cooperation, fraternity, and mutual assistance in the public mind.

The same should be said of the kolkhoz peasantry. I remember a remark made yesterday by a representative of it at a meeting in a rayon while I was visiting the agricultural firm. He said: "Nothing can come between us; we work harmoniously in our multinational collective, we may speak several languages, but we understand one another perfectly." That is precisely how it is necessary to act, in my view.

Social consolidation is inconceivable without the intelligentsia, which, as we have seen for ourselves yet again, enjoys tremendous and well-earned respect in the republic. Scientists, cultural figures, the creators of new technology, writers, musicians, and artists embody a powerful spiritual potential. They are the nation's reason and conscience. And understandably, the people heed their voice and their opinion very, very closely. But great influence also entails great responsibility. And that responsibility must be the measure of any word or any action designed to evoke a broad public response.

Latvia's working people have plenty of revolutionary consciousness and militant spirit. Vladimir Ilich Lenin greatly valued the international traditions of the Baltic proletariat and intelligentsia. Soviet people of all generations will never forget the exploit of the Latvian Red riflemen, those fearless soldiers of the revolution who made a wonderful contribution to the October victory and the defense of Soviet power. Just as the Latvian Red riflemen were a reliable prop of the October Revolution, the republic's working people—workers, peasants, and the intelligentsia—must be a reliable prop of the revolutionary restructuring that is a continuation of the October cause.

There is every reason to believe that Latvia's people will display political maturity and farsightedness and will be able to correctly grasp the situation and resolve urgent problems in order to make confident progress.

The vanguard role of party organizations and every communist must be fully displayed in the complex situation that has now taken shape in your republic.

It is necessary to master the skill of integrating the aims of various groups of society, to help to remove misunderstandings and disagreements, to bring common interests to the fore, and to strengthen the alliance of all true participants in restructuring. And here communists—all together and each individually—must occupy a clear ideological position and fight for the party line. That is not only their duty according to the statutes, but also their civic, human duty. Temporizing and passivity, still less unprincipledness, are not in the spirit of our Leninist party. It is important not to lose the initiative in raising and resolving urgent problems and to overcome in party organizations' practical work any lag behind the processes taking place in the public awareness.

At the same time it is necessary to oppose resolutely, relying on the force of persuasion and the authority of the law, any attempts to exploit the expansion of democracy and glasnost for antidemocratic purposes and to divert natural national feelings into the destructive channel of extremism. It is necessary, comrades, to learn to defend our values in conditions of socialist pluralism while cleansing society, our history, and our conscience of all accretions which distort socialism. It is important to state firmly and clearly: All those who raise their hand against our system, against our future, can entertain no illusions as to what the people's response will ultimately be.

A clear, unambiguous line and a cogent, scientifically substantiated program are needed. And when that program is being implemented we need an active stance on the part of all party organizations and every communist.

A great deal depends on whose interests the mass news media serve. Their work must certainly be based on the most democratic principles. I said that at the meeting with ideological workers. In a socialist rule-of-law state, in a society professing socialist pluralism of opinions, the press is called upon to adequately reflect public opinion, not to be a mouthpiece for group prejudices and a catalyst for destructive tendencies.

Party committees and the party's ideological subunits must step up their influence on the mass news media. But they must do so not via the methods of administrative pressure, but rather by relying on the party principledness and responsibility of leaders of the press and television and radio personnel and on journalists' civic stance.

Before putting something in the press or including it on television and radio programs, it is necessary to ponder three times, or maybe even ten, and to analyze how it will affect national relations and the feelings and mood of the entire population. Not to harm, not to damage, but to display extreme scrupulousness and a respectful attitude toward the needs and interests of people of all nationalities—that is what attests to a sincere desire to help restructuring.

And of course, the work of the mass news media must be geared to the practical deeds of restructuring, to implementing the political, economic, and social transformations that ultimately are the specific content of all our work.

Comrades! We have everything necessary for the victory of our cause, which was begun on the party's initiative and is supported by the people. We have a clear idea of what we want and what we are moving toward. We have the theoretical concept of restructuring. We have a well thought-out policy enriched with experience, both past and present. Now the question of the irreversibility of restructuring is to a decisive extent a question of practical work. Success depends on the desire and ability of all social forces and all peoples of the Soviet Union without exception to link their own goals and their own work with restructuring.

I would like to stress that we have total trust in the republic's leadership and in its ability to consolidate the social forces advocating restructuring. I am sure that Latvia's people and the republican party organization will be able to cope honorably with their tasks and will make a weighty contribution to the nationwide cause of creating a renewed socialist society—democratic, humane, and entirely devoted to the needs of the working person.

V.A. Medvedev then answered a number of questions. The ecological situation in Ventspils was also raised during the dialogue with the participants in the meeting. Thus, Ye.P. Dyachkov, general director of the "Latviyas Degviyela" Association, said:

"Vadim Andreyevich, the situation there is a real emergency. And despite the fact that union organs have known of it since 1983, neither the USSR Gosplan nor other union departments are taking any specific measures to reconstruct enterprises or to reduce shipments of toxic freight. A delegation is coming in early December—not to straighten out the enterprises, including the bulk petroleum terminal, but to increase the capacity of that enterprise. That is fundamentally wrong. We are playing with fire."

This speech was supported by Ya.V. Blazhevich, first secretary of Ventspils party gorkom, who noted that the ecological commission of republic scientists will not resolve this question.

For the enlightenment of the meeting participants, Academician R.A. Kukayn disclosed that the commission of scientists created by the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers will submit its findings to the republic leadership by 1 December. And the leadership will decide.

Ya.Ya. Vagris continued the discussion of the problem:

"It has already been said that we sometimes make hasty, not altogether competent decisions because we do not always involve scientists. This time we have involved

scientists. Of course, Academician Kukayn will not resolve the question. But science can and will provide recommendations on how to resolve it. Yevgeniy Petrovich, you too have played a part in creating the ecological situation in Ventspils. Let's call a spade a spade. Because you manage this in our republic. Let's get out of this situation together."

V.A. Medvedev: I'm prepared to join in this question. (Applause.)

Ya.Ya. Vagris: If necessary, we'll ask you to intervene. Any more questions? If not, allow me on your behalf to thank Vadim Andreyevich not only for today's meeting but for the 4 days he has spent in the republic and for the advice that we have received during his conversations and meetings. In conclusion, I appeal yet again to everyone here, to our republic's party aktiv—although this thesis has been voiced more than once already—I repeat that we need the consolidation of all forces today more than ever. This is our present and, still more, it is our future. And if we want to travel the path of restructuring, and there is no other path, there is no alternative to restructuring. We need to pool efforts for specific practical deeds. We have plenty to do in all sectors. Of course, we will argue, we will debate on a healthy basis. But all the same, let us make common cause. Above all, I summon you all to specific action. [Vagris ends]

Comrades E.Ya. Aushkap, V.I. Grishin, I.Ya. Kezbers, A.P. Klautsen, K.I. Nyuksha, Ya.Ya. Okherin, V.P. Sobolev, S.V. Zukul, and G.N. Loskutov, and also Ye.N. Trofimov, chief of a CPSU Central Committee sector, took part in the work of the republic's party, soviet, and ideological aktiv.

Gorbachev Supreme Soviet Speech Published

LD0712023588 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 6 Dec 88

[Text] The brochure "Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev—Toward the Full Power of the Soviets and the Formation of a Socialist State Based on the Rule of Law" has been published. It contains Gorbachev's report and concluding speech made at the extraordinary 12th session of the USSR Supreme Soviet of the 11th convocation held 29 November-1 December. The brochure was published by the Politicheskaya Literatura Publishing House.

RSFSR Supreme Soviet Elections Viewed

LD0212144788 Moscow TASS in English 0605 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 2—By TASS correspondent Boris Prokhorov:

Last month's by-elections to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation were remarkably instructive from the political point of view. They were held in ten constituencies of the republic at the same time as draft legislation, laying down new principles for the organization and holding of elections, was published in the country for nation-wide discussion. Therefore, these by-elections could have been a sort of "rehearsal" for the projected election system or could, at least, show the extent to which the local authorities, responsible as they are for the organization of election campaigns, were prepared to adopt the new procedures stipulated in the draft legislation.

How did these "rehearsals" proceed and what did they show? Unfortunately, in four out of the ten cases in question, the nomination of candidates, the electorate's information about candidates' election platforms and the voting itself followed the old pattern entirely, as though there was no draft reform of the Soviet political system at all. It appears that the local authorities had decided to profit by the fact that the new system is still being developed, to seize the last chance not to elect, but to "slate", in camera, the desired candidates.

This sad impression is strengthened by the fact that the preferred candidates were all top-level local leaders whom the campaign organizers dared not oppose by any alternate nominees. They included, for instance, the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Buryat Autonomous Republic, the chairman of the Maritime Territorial Soviet, as well as chairman of the Omsk and Magadan regional soviets. By including only one "high-ranking" personality in the ballots these over-zealous officials have, in fact, discredited the candidates although they may be very able administrators and men of great dignity. This is precisely how the republic and press evaluated the elections in these four constituencies.

The situation was quite different in the other six constituencies where the parliamentary seats were contested by several candidates, usually two. Three candidates were included in the voting ballots in Spassk constituency of the Maritime Territory in the Far East. The elections were won there by Anatoliy Kalinich, director of one of the local plants, who got 58 percent of the votes as against 24 and 18 percent for his opponents.

In four of these six constituencies the elections went smoothly. Seats in Russia's Supreme Soviet were won by those who got the support of more than half of all registered voters. This condition is laid down in the present election law. In the other two constituencies, however, where three candidates were nominated, the winner did not get the required majority and new elections had to be called.

There was an instance in the Russian Federation, however, which showed that even repeated elections were not always decisive. Elections to the Supreme Soviet of the

Tatar Autonomous Republic were held in one constituency at the end of September. There were two candidates running and one of them got more votes than the other, but less than the required fifty per cent plus. New elections were held one and a half months later, but were unable to break the deadlock. Elections were fixed for the third time... but is there any guarantee that this requirement will be met this time?

Proceeding from the experience of by-elections in the Russian Federation, jurists now hold that a candidate who gets more than a half of the ballot cast by the actual turn-out, not of the registered voters, should be considered elected. The requirement now in force proceeds from the belief that almost all the voters were bound to take part in elections. Recent elections in Russia have shown, however, that this is practically impossible in truly democratic conditions.

So, these are the results of the by-elections recently held in several Russian constituencies. Some of them indeed proved to be a "rehearsal" of new-style elections, others—unfortunately, brought to light a less than desirable state of affairs.

Siberia's Koptyug Addresses Supreme Soviet

PM0612083388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
1 Dec 88 Second Edition p 6

[Speech by Deputy V.A. Koptyug of Novosibirskiy Electoral Okrug, Novosibirsk Oblast, (chairman of the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Department), delivered at the 30 November morning joint session of the USSR Supreme Soviet chambers]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] We understand, although clearly not fully, that our fellow citizens, who feel responsibility for the fate of the country, want to be personally and directly involved in resolving the most important political and state questions. This, I think, is why during the discussion of the draft laws at organizations of the Novosibirsk scientific center of the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Department many collectives supported direct elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet and even more collectives supported direct elections for the chairmanship of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

I do not think that this demonstrates a lack of faith in those who will be represented at the USSR Congress of People's Deputies and who are to elect the USSR Supreme Soviet because there is no doubt that in the present situation it is those who represent the people's interests who will be elected people's deputies. Rather, it is a tremendous and sincere desire to participate personally and directly in the solution of the most important questions.

It seems to me that the attitude toward the representation of social organizations, which many speakers have already mentioned, can be explained in a similar way. Its need is obvious but the way of choosing deputies from social organizations—not directly but at the congresses and conferences of those organizations—has caused doubts among a number of collectives of the Novosibirsk scientific center and, judging from deputies' speeches, elsewhere too. As an alternative I propose, for example, that representatives of social organizations be chosen in territorial okrugs from a central list, that is, individually and directly once again, not via representatives.

As for the concern that under the method proposed in the draft Law the apparatus can try to secure the nomination of the candidates that it needs, that is not so easy to do now, as deputy Lavrov has rightly noted. Many speakers have stressed that the well-considered procedure for nominating and examining candidates from social organzations makes it possible to reduce that danger to the minimum. [passage omitted]

Comrade deputies! Questions of interethnic relations and the status of the union republics require a particularly attentive and well balanced approach. It is regrettable that the first version of the draft laws contained a number of insufficiently considered phrases which could be interpreted as an infringement of the republics' sovereign rights. The republics' claims of high handnedness by union ministries are to a large extent fair.

The open discussion at the 26 November USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session, the desire to understand the problems that have occurred, and the introduction of significant clarifications into the draft laws show the rational way to resolve such problems. The proposal that the first Congress of People's Deputies should set up a Constitutional Commission to begin work on a new edition of the USSR Constitution as a whole is typical of that method.

At the same time we must say a firm "no" to ultimatums and provocative publications and actions. When making decisions at this session we must bear in mind the full urgency of the present time and must overcome our differences of opinion in the assessment of individual provisions so as to achieve the main objective—another step forward along the path of restructuring and the preservation of our multinational unity

We deputies and, in particular, the deputies from the Baltic and Transcaucasian republics, must show civic and political maturity, perspicacity, and wisdom so that we do not in the future feel shame toward our peoples, our great multinational country, and history. In this complex period we must unite around the line of our party, which launched and is organizing restructuring.

The ratification of the draft laws cannot be delayed. The report at this session by M.S. Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and subsequent speeches by deputies presented an extensive and well

argued case in support of that. It is necessary to attentively reexamine the draft laws in the light of the quite keen discussion which is taking place here and to take a decision at this session. (Applause)

Proposed Limit on Candidacies Defended

PM2211115788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 2

[Article by Professor M. Piskotin, doctor of juridical sciences, head of the Political Science Research Center under the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of State and Law, and head of the Soviet Political Science Association, under the rubric "For Democracy in the Electoral Process": "Are There Too Many Precautions?"]

[Text] In assessing the published drafts [of amendments and additions to the USSR Constitution and election laws] you have to take account of the complexities of the tasks that they are meant to resolve. The drafts are subordinate to the general aim of democratizing Soviet society. In this way they must simultaneously help to strengthen the forces of restructuring. But the most important thing is that they are designed to make the transition from formal and frequently show democracy to real democracy.

Let us turn to the electoral system. In the legislation on elections that was in effect until recently, the right to nominate candidate deputies was granted to public organizations and meetings of labor collectives without any restrictions whatsoever. At the same time it was laid down that okrug electoral commissions were obliged to register all nominated candidates and include them on the voting papers. However, according to the draft USSR Law on the Election of People's Deputies, candidate deputies are nominated from labor collectives with, as a rule, not fewer than 500 working people and at meetings of voters at their places of residence if they are attended by not fewer than 500 voters living on an okrug's territory. Moreover, if more than two candidates have been nominated in an electoral okrug for one deputy's seat, an okrug preelection meeting of representatives of labor collectives and public organizations is held. In this case the okrug electoral commission will not register all the candidates nominated by labor collectives and public organizations but only those put forward by the okrug preelection meeting.

Does this procedure limit the right of citizens to nominate candidate deputies? Undoubtedly. Does this mean that it is a step backward, that the proposed electoral system turns out to be less democratic than the one in effect until now? Certainly not. But where, in that case, is the logic?

The logic lies precisely in the fact that **here we are observing a transition from show democracy to real democracy,** although not fully developed democracy. For until now labor collectives and public organizations themselves have generally not been able to nominate candidate deputies. They merely formalized the choice of candidates made by party organs, lending to it a semblance of a democratic nomination. At the same time just one candidate was nominated for each deputy's seat. And, of course, he was registered "without any restrictions."

Under the electoral system now being discussed labor collectives and public organizations may themselves nominate candidate deputies on their own initiative. The draft law states that at appropriate meetings "conditions are created for the unrestricted submission of candidacies." A participant in a meeting may also propose his own candidacy—which is extremely important. This is of fundamental significance. This is still not the institution of candidate deputies' self-nomination in its entirety. But it is a step toward it, which will help to do away with the idea that candidates may be nominated only from above and on the initiative of some organizations. It will finally be possible to overcome the prejudice that it is "immodest" to nominate oneself.

It is the transition to a working electoral system and to real soviet elections that has prompted us to provide for measures which can prevent the electoral process from becoming chaos. This is all the more important because it is essentially a question of the first experience of elections of this kind.

And yet some of the precautions envisaged in the draft electoral law appear excessive. I believe that the convening of preelection okrug meetings and, in particular, their assumption of the task of resolving the question of submitting candidate deputies for registration to the corresponding electoral commission must be permitted only in exceptional cases. For this we ought to recognize the possibility of convening such a meeting only if more than three or even four or five candidates have been nominated for one deputy's seat in the okrug.

People might say: In that case it will be likely that no candidate will gain the necessary number of votes and that a second ballot will have to be held. We already have examples of such an outcome in elections. But we must take a very firm stand here and not fear the prospect of a second or even a third round of an election. Of course, this is both burdensome and entails additional expenditure. But elections are a fundamental issue in shaping a democratic system of power, and resolving this on the basis of considerations of simple convenience or money-saving means a betrayal of democracy.

Work of Commission on Draft Laws Explained

PM2911173788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 2

[M. Kushtapin article: "Who Adopts the Amendments?"]

[Text] IZVESTIYA's editorial mailbag contains letters in which readers ask for a report on specifically who is working on the deputies preparatory commission to examine materials for nationwide discussion of the draft USSR Law on Amendments and Additions to the USSR

Constitution and the draft Law on Elections of People's Deputies of the USSR.

It was set up by the Legislative Proposals Commissions under the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union and Soviet of Nationalities out of its own members. It consists of 10 people led by V.G. Lomonosov, deputy chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities Legislative Proposals Commission and deputy chairman of the AUCCTU. These are the commission members: I.S. Gustov, first deputy chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee; A.V. Karpov, director of the Biyskiy chemical combine; P.P. Laptev, first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee General Department; A.Ya. Rybakov, chairman of the Central Committee of the Trade Union of Machine-Building and Instrument-Making Workers; Sh.M. Aliyev, chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR People's Control Committee; G.I. Yeremey, chairman of the Moldavian Republic Trade Union Council; V.I. Kazakov, deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers; Kh.Kh. Parik, director of the "Tartu" sovkhoz in the Estonian SSR; and M.I. Fomicheva, weaver at the Riga "Lenta" textiles and haberdashery factory. In addition, the deputies are inviting representatives of the union republics, scientists, and party and soviet workers to their sessions.

Two working groups under the preparatory commission have been formed (one for the Constitution, and the second for the law on elections) which consist of scholars, lawyers, specialists, and workers from the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium apparatus. They also analyze and draw inferences from all the material under discussion, and submit them for examination by the deputies preparatory commission. This in its turn passes on all the approved amendments, refinements, and proposals for final judgment by the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union and Soviet of Nationalities Legislative Proposals Commissions. They contain 66 deputies from the USSR Supreme Soviet—workers, kolkhoz members, figures active in science and culture, party and soviet workers—representatives from virtually all strata of the population and all the republics.

Amendments and refinements approved by the legislative proposals commissions go to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium for examination. But the USSR Supreme Soviet, which will adopt the final version of the USSR Law on Amendments and Additions to the USSR Constitution and the Law on Elections of People's Deputies of the USSR, has the last word.

Federative Citizenship Rules Defended

PM0712113988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Dec 88 Second Edition p 3

[Feature under the rubric "The USSR Is Our Common Home" comprising articles by B. Topornin, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and V. Tumanov, doctor of juridical sciences: "On Citizenship"—first two paragraphs are reader's letter and third paragraph is PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] "Questions of citizenship are today being actively discussed in a number of republics by representatives of the intelligentsia and civic movements and by informal groups. This debate has already reached the level of drawing up draft laws which, when you read them, are notable for an entire spectrum of proposals on introducing obligatory conditions for the granting of republic citizenship. These include unconditional knowledge of the language and the qualification of residence in the republic for 5-10-20 years.

"This has undoubtedly been occasioned by a whole number of real, painful problems which have accumulated in individual regions over the decades. And these problems do require specific socioeconomic and political solutions. But how far do the proposed concepts of this kind fit in with the process of our society's democratization, and do they correspond to general international trends and concepts of citizenship? How are these problems resolved in other countries, including capitalist ones? L. Petrov."

We showed this letter to scientists of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of State and Law. This choice was not accidental. The experience of recent months shows that in a number of instances popularity is achieved by manifestly inept socioeconomic ideas, whose supporters sometimes unconsciously muddle concepts in an attempt to formulate what they regard as the most positive programs for curing society of stagnation ills. How, in this sense, do specialists whose authority is acknowledged in the scientific world assess the idea of "rigid citizenship"?

Is It Democratic? [introduces Topornin article]

In principle, the adoption of republic legislative acts on citizenship is a perfectly well-substantiated and necessary matter. In the USSR, as in the majority of the world's federative states, dual citizenship has been established. Under Article 33 of the present Constitution every citizen of a union republic is simultaneously a citizen of the USSR. Republic citizenship is even "older" than all-union citizenship, for prior to the formation of the USSR there was only republic citizenship.

It must be said that the excessive centralism introduced in the past into the distribution of powers between the USSR and the union republics also affected questions of citizenship. A reduction of republic powers can also be observed here. Compare for yourselves: Under the 1931 statute on USSR citizenship the republics had the right to resolve questions both of admitting people to republic (and, consequently, also union) citizenship and of stripping them of it. What is more, the republics could delegate these rights of theirs to the provinces—to individual rayon and city soviets. But now, under the 1978 Law on USSR Citizenship, the republics may still admit to republic citizenship and, thus, also to USSR citizenship, only foreigners and stateless persons who are permanent residents on the territory of a union republic.

In short, a widening of the union republics' rights with regard to questions of citizenship and an amplification of obsolete norms could only be welcomed. By virtue of their status, the union republics could themselves decide once and for all, for example, all questions connected with admission to republic (and union) citizenship. This would undoubtedly contribute to the democratization of relations within the framework of the USSR and strengthen guarantees of republic statehood.

The existence of republic citizenship under conditions of a socialist federative state can in no way be construed and used contrary to the unity and cohesion of the entire Soviet multinational society. In the USSR, according to the USSR Constitution, every Soviet person has at his disposal in any place all the rights and freedoms enshrined in the fundamental law. **To establish any norms which create privileges for citizens of one republic and which limit the status of citizens of other republics would mean violating the principle of Soviet citizens' equal rights.**

The proposals for introducing qualifications for acquiring republic citizenship arouse sharp objections. This would be contrary to the principles of democratism and internationalism.

The establishment, for example, of a settlement qualification would mean an arbitrary restriction of the political rights of a significant section of citizens who, for one reason or another (particularly in connection with a move to a new place of work), ordinarily used to change their citizenship. But here the existence or absence of citizenship is connected with the resolution of other questions, including the freedom to choose a place of residence within the republic. There are also more far-reaching intentions, particularly the intention to restrict the granting of work and housing to people coming from other regions. Just as discriminatory is the proposal to link the granting of citizenship with knowledge of the language of the indigenous population which has been granted the status of a state language.

The very knowledge of this language undoubtedly makes life and daily existence easier for all who live in the republic, and it enables them to join in work more actively and to enjoy cultural riches. But for many reasons—age, education, and even interests—a section of people, including those living in the republic, may get by for a long time with their own national language. Can they be deprived on these grounds of the possibility of being citizens of the republic? For they have every reason to enjoy its jurisdiction and to count on its protection.

Any privileges and restrictions along national lines are quite intolerable. They are, in point of fact, the purest manifestations of national inequality of an anticonstitutional, immoral nature. Meanwhile, the settlement qualification may be reduced or not be applied at all for persons of the indigenous nationality while, on the contrary, being increased for persons of another nationality. All such limitations are not only at variance with Soviet legislation. They are openly ruled out by legislation in other countries and by the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

As we see, various kinds of qualifications mean a serious departure from the existing situation. This is not a step forward but a step or even several steps back. The introduction of qualifications would mean barriers arising among Soviet people, who would be divided up into more or less suitable people or even people of a different class. It is perfectly clear that this would not improve but, on the contrary, would sharply worsen the moral situation not only in the republic but also throughout the country.

Sometimes the introduction of restrictive conditions—qualifications—is accounted for by the problems which have recently arisen in the Baltic republics. The incorrect investment policy of a number of all-union ministries and departments resulted in a steep increase in migration flows into those republics and, consequently, exacerbated problems of housing, sociocultural provision, and supply and distribution. The proportions of the indigenous and incoming populations began to change so quickly and extensively that this gave rise to adverse consequences. However, these are misfortunes of economic and social development or, more accurately, the results of its deformation, and they must be "treated" only with economic and social solutions. This must be explained constantly and patiently in order to remove and prevent various kinds of false nationalist rumors.

The normal development of the entire social sector and economy requires not the introduction of limits and barriers but, on the contrary, their removal. The free movement of both goods and manpower within the framework of the unified national economic complex is a condition for utilizing its possibilities and revealing its potential.

How Are Things Abroad? [introduces Tumanov article]

Indeed, we debate and refer to certain "analogues." But how does the question of citizenship, which is of interest to us, really appear in light of international experience?

There are many federation-states in the world today, on various continents. Some of them recognize exclusively all-union citizenship. The members of the federation (the provinces in Canada, for example) do not have their own citizenship at all.

People in the United States and in West European federations—the FRG, Switzerland, Austria—have dual citizenship, as in our country. A citizen of the state as a whole is simultaneously a citizen of the individual state, land, or canton in which he lives. But this is what is

characteristic: The constitutions of all these countries emphasize that this circumstance **cannot be used to infringe upon the rights of other citizens of the country**.

Article 4 of the U.S. Constitution and the 14th Amendment to it lay down that **the citizens of each state are entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens of other states**. One of the most important of these "privileges and immunities," as the U.S. Supreme Court has emphasized, is the freedom to choose one's place of residence. (The proposed many-year qualification for citizenship would do away with just this right). On turning to the constitutions of the FRG, Austria, and Switzerland, we will see everywhere the rule that a citizen of the union has identical rights and duties in each land (canton). This is a very important rule—**republic citizenship cannot be counterposed to all-union citizenship**.

At the same time the republic citizenship established by our constitutional system once again attests that we must always remember the uniqueness of the living conditions, traditions, and interests of the population of each republic and take this into account in the state's economic and demographic policy.

I agree with B. Topornin: Decisions which come from the center and which unjustifiably create migration flows, give rise to domestic difficulties, lead to a worsening of social conditions, and so forth, are profoundly wrong.

Unfortunately, under the conditions of the command and edict system we did not have a mechanism enabling us quickly and efficiently to resolve on a legal basis the collisions that arise in this connection (incidentally, the 1924 USSR Constitution provided for such a mechanism). But this does not mean that we must go to extremes of another kind, making the validity of all-union laws on a republic's territory dependent on their verification and approval by the appropriate republic organs. Such an approach is a direct violation of the fundamental principles of the federation. And, returning to international experience, it should be emphasized that **not one** of the foreign federations knows of anything like this. On the contrary, another rule is generally accepted—the possibility of verifying at the federal level the legislation of a member of the federation.

Is it accidental that the federation as a form of state organization has become widespread in our time, whereas not one confederation exists today, although there were many in the past? This natural evolution is accounted for by the fact that the confederation, far more than the federation, isolates the states united within it and divides them up with many partitions. Therefore, it does not correspond to the course of the international process or of economic and social development and does not accord with the needs of an industrial society or with the complex interconnected economic structure to which modern state structures must correspond. The scientific and technical revolution has emphasized this trend still more. This is why (not to mention factors of a sociopolitical nature) movement away from a developed federation toward confederative forms would be a historically backward move.

Terebilov Offers Plan for 'Law-Governed State'

WA18120020 Moscow NEW TIMES in English No 44, Oct 88 pp 25-28

[Interview with Vladimir Terebilov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Court, by NEW TIMES Observer Lev Yelin; date, place not given]

[Text] NEW TIMES: With this interview our magazine continues its series on the law-governed state. So my first question is what in your opinion should be done to establish the rule of law in the USSR?

Vladimir Terebilov: Speaking of a law-governed state, people often interpret its essence and system differently. So everyone has his own recipe to offer. Briefly, very briefly and therefore schematically, the answer could be formulated as follows. Personally I believe that in order to provide the conditions for setting up a genuinely law-governed state, we must first radically improve the existing government and political systems.

First, the acting Constitution needs adding to, particularly with respect to a clearer definition of the division of functions between the Soviets, the Party and the government. That, clearly, should be the point of departure for the next stage in setting up a law-governed state of a higher level. Later, presumably, the entire Constitution will have to be revised.

Second, a radical restructuring of the legal basis of the economic structure and methods of economic management will be required. Ways of resolving this difficult problem are now being sought, but this search should not be allowed to drag on indefinitely.

Third, the existing legislation should be reviewed to define more concisely the rights and duties of citizens with respect to the state and to other citizens, as well as the rights and duties of the state to its citizens.

And finally, fourth, we must implement a reform of state law, though it would be better to describe it as reform of the courts of law.

N.T.: What role should the courts play in a law-governed state?

V.T.: The court should stand at the very top of the pyramid of all bodies that administer the law. So what is needed first and foremost to ensure this is that the courts of law be genuinely independent of anyone, no matter

who he be, and that the guiding principles of the administration of the law be the presumption of being innocent, a principle that was at one time pushed into oblivion. Today we tell each other that this principle must be observed, but, frankly speaking, it is not always so in practice.

At present, i.e., in the period of perestroyka, one does not often encounter cases where someone phones a judge and "suggests" that the question be resolved in ways other than the law would demand. Nevertheless, we feel a law should be adopted on contempt of court and attempts to put pressure on judges.

"Attempts To Infringe on the Independence of Courts of Law"

Mention should also be made of other kinds of attempt to infringe on the independence of courts of law, attempts which are at times even more effective than a blunt telephone call.... The courts are responsible to the Soviets and are obliged to report back to them on their work. On the one hand, a situation where the court is responsible to no one seems inadmissible. But, on the other, if it is obliged to report back on its work, the possibility cannot be ruled out that the judge will seek to ensure that his decisions do not run counter to the views prevailing in the Soviet he reports to. Moreover, the court is to no small extent dependent on the Soviets for its material and financial needs. So if we leave this principle in our legislation (and it looks very democratic!), then we must at least stipulate categorically that this responsibility to the Soviets—its form and content—should in no measure affect decision on criminal and civil cases in courts.

The CPSU Central Committee is already considering the question of the form the work of party bodies should take. What I would like to see underlined is that party bodies exercise their influence on the work of courts not through their apparatus, but primarily through those party members who have been elected to the courts of law. And party influence should be used only to ensure strict adherence to the law. Any other solution can only trigger off a fresh spate of old shortcomings and old mistakes.

"A Clearer Definition of the Position and Rights of the Procurator in Court Is Needed"

In order to provide additional guarantees of the independence, of the courts, it is essential more clearly to define the position and rights of the procurator in court. Back in the 1930s Stalin put through a reform of the legal system. Priority was given to the investigating apparatus separated from the judiciary and placed under the procurator's office, which in turn was separated from the People's Commissariat for Justice. That, as you know, made it easy to carry through the unlawful repressions in the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s. It was at that time too that the concept of "supervision by the procurator" in court was made part of our legal theory. We believe that to a certain extent this concept contradicts the most important principle of justice—that the examination of a case in court is a fair contest. On the one hand, we maintain that the prosecution and the defence lawyer are on an equal footing in the court, with the judge having the final say. Yet at the same time we maintain that one of the sides in the court, namely the procurator, is simultaneously entitled to supervise the legality of court decisions. So what kind of equality is that? How can the two sides vie with each other? Where does the judge's decisive say come in? We feel that the logic is completely haywire. The first document on the procurator's office drawn up by Lenin in 1922 stated that the procurator takes part in the hearing of a case and has the right to appeal against any decision—and that's all. Supervision and, consequently, the right to revoke a court's decision therefore belonged only to a higher court.

A couple of words about the Ministry of Justice. Under the existing laws its only responsibility is the organizational guidance of the courts. There have been quite a number of complaints from judges that this guidance often develops into interference in the work of the courts. Clearly, in this case too the relationship between the two needs stricter definition so as to provide the maximum guarantees for the independence of the courts.

N.T.: Some journalists and lawyers argue that the sentences passed by the courts are often a carbon copy or largely repeat the indictment drawn up by the investigators and approved by the procurator. Is that true?

V.T.: Unfortunately, the prosecution's version is still mechanically followed in the work of some of our courts. For instance, when the Supreme Court meets in a plenary session, we still come up against cases when the sentences passed by the courts of the union republics reproduce the version of the indictment without any attempt to take a critical look at it. Nevertheless, changes for the better are apparent. The courts of the union republics now order re-investigation of more than 80,000 cases a year, while up to 3,000 defendants are acquitted and many cases are dismissed. We regard this as a real sign that the courts have begun to review the results of the preliminary investigation much more critically.

"Withdraw the Investigative Apparatus From the Procurator's Office"

Our task is to eliminate completely any mistakes by courts. To this end it would therefore be best to hand over, in the nearest future, the investigative apparatus from the procurator's office to some other body, or set up an independent investigative apparatus, so that the procurator would be able strictly to supervise the legality of the investigator's work and would not be the chief of this apparatus. Say, a procurator has mistakenly decided to issue a warrant for someone's arrest and signed the indictment, it is very hard for him to admit his mistake.

That is another reason why the functions of the procurator in the court should not be described as one of supervision or, if it is, the meaning it carries must be different. We believe that the procurator at a trial, just like the defence lawyer, has the right to appeal against the court's decision.

N.T.: You said that it would be best to withdraw the investigative apparatus from its present subordination to the procurator's office. Perhaps there would be some sense in setting up such a post as investigative judge, who would deal with all the problems of the investigation and control the legality of the preliminary investigation?

V.T.: A post like that or a similar one exists in certain Western countries. But I don't think it would be feasible to carry through such a reorganization in our country at present. We don't have the necessary conditions: the level of law-breaking is still too high, and neither the investigators nor the judges have the necessary experience. Moreover, if a judge is drawn too greatly into the preliminary investigation, this could affect his objectivity in the course of the court examination.

"Give Courts of Law the Right To Verify the Existence of Proper Grounds for Arrest"

However, we do think that all the conditions exist for giving the courts of law the right to verify the existence of proper grounds for arrest before the trial. At present the situation is as follows: the Procurator General can give his consent to keeping a person in detention for 9 months before his trial, after which the law does not envisage an extension of this period. Yet in practice we come across cases when people have spent a whole year, two years, three years in prison before standing trial. From our point of view that it is an absolutely abnormal situation. This question should be solved differently: the procurator should have the right to sanction an arrest, say, for six months, after which it would be the prerogative of the court to extend this period for a limited term—a further three to six months. In such cases the investigator, with the consent of the procurator, before these six months are up, submits his materials to the court, and it is the court's job to consider whether there are any grounds for keeping an accused in prison for any longer. And of course, when the case comes to trial, the court that examines it must not be the one that sanctioned the defendant's continued detention.

N.T.: We have considered the role of the procurator. Let us turn to that of the defence counsel. Do you consider it normal that defence is allowed access to the case only after the investigation has been completed?

V.T.: I believe the lawyer should be given access to the preliminary investigation from the moment a person has been charged. In discussing this problem, many authors point to the fact that in many European countries a person is allowed to have his lawyer with him from the very moment he has received a summons to the investigator. I think such a decision would be premature. And the presence of a lawyer hardly seems necessary at a time when neither the suspect nor the investigator know how the charge will be formulated, i.e., what the person is being accused of. What's more it will be only better-off people who will be able to take advantage of such a right.

"A Lawyer From the Moment the Charge Is Presented"

In future I do not rule out the possibility of the defence lawyer being given access from the very earliest stage of the preliminary investigation. But in the meantime I think probably it would be reasonable to try out a halfway version....

N.T.: Are there enough lawyers in the Soviet Union? For I hope their role and significance in the courts will now increase....

V.T.: There are now more than 25,000 members of the College of Lawyers. To that we could add another 70-80 thousand legal consultants who are in effect staff lawyers of their organizations and give legal assistance to industrial and office workers at enterprises. That adds up to about 100,000. I would say that it is still not enough. The courts are interested in strengthening the Bar and raising the qualification of lawyers. I would also say that the judges corps should be partially reinforced by trained lawyers. Their salaries need to be boosted and we should set up a national union of lawyers.

N.T.: Would you consider it feasible to institute an independent group of people's representatives to decide the question of a person's guilt without the participation of the court, and together with the judge decide on the sentence?

V.T.: In effect you are asking if we should reinstate the jury system, but I would say that bringing this matter up is a result of an overestimation of the seeming democracy of this form of participation of the people in court proceedings. Supporters of this idea invariably quote the trial of Vera Zasulich, who almost 100 years ago shot at a tsarist official. The jury then passed a verdict of not guilty. But I don't remember hearing of any other such striking example in favour of trial by jury. The jury system does exist in certain Western countries, but is far from being as perfect as some people make it out to be, and the role of juries is not so great. For instance in Canada, which I visited recently, only one per cent of all cases are examined by a court with a jury, while the remaining 99 per cent go before a single judge. Canadian lawyers told us that the jury system remained more as a tradition, and in their opinion it was useful only when examining certain cases, chiefly murder cases. Incidentally, going back to the Zasulich trial, I think the jury passed the verdict of not guilty chiefly thanks to the summing up by the Presiding Judge, Anatoli Koni, who made the utmost use of his talent and experience as a lawyer....

In my opinion People's Assessors in court are much more democratic, since they take part in all the legal proceedings in court, the passing of the verdict included, and don't just decide whether the defendant is guilty or not guilty.

N.T.: But probably it is not for nothing that People's Assessors are referred to as "the silent ones" in this country....

V.T.: Getting People's Assessors to take a more active part in proceedings is a question of time as well as proper education, and that depends wholly on us.

"The System of People's Assessors Is More Democratic Than the Jury System"

Look how the situation is changing. Thousands upon thousands of people are now standing up in defence of their point of view on the most acute issues. Surely we shall be able to elect as People's Assessors, those who would display the same civic qualities in deciding court matters. We must, of course, give thought to the question of what can be done to improve the system of People's Assessors. Perhaps their number should be increased and a procedure worked out for considering their reservations. In other words, I regard the system of People's Assessors, if it is improved, as more democratic and, therefore, preferable to the jury system.

N.T.: What is your attitude to the death sentence as a penalty?

V.T.: In our laws, the death sentence has always been regarded as an exceptional and temporary measure. But this temporary measure has already existed for 70 years.... Twice, in 1920 and 1947, the death sentence was abolished and then reinstated. Opinions differ very greatly on this subject both in our country and in the West. It seems to me that execution is very ineffective. Even the wide use of this measure has never helped in the battle against crime. Then there is the moral aspect—the use of the death sentence does credit to no country.

"For Certain Crimes the Death Sentence Should Be Preserved"

I view this measure as indeed a temporary and an exceptional one. I believe we should not apply it to women or in cases of economic crimes.... But for certain particularly violent crimes involving murder, the death sentence, grievous as it be, should be preserved for a certain period.

N.T.: Aren't the prison sentences passed in the Soviet Union too long?

V.T.: It is not, perhaps, so much a question of the length of sentences as the scale on which imprisonment is used. At the beginning of the 1980s, about 60 per cent of those charged with criminal offences in the Soviet Union were sent to prison. We have come to the conclusion that such a strict approach is not always really necessary. Lately only about a third of those charged with criminal offences have been sent to prison. In a sense that is a turning point.... It cannot be ruled out that this approach has produced some mistakes. But I nevertheless feel that we should continue to aim at reducing prison sentences. On the other hand, the courts must not slide into unacceptable liberalism with regard to persons found guilty of repeated crimes or particularly dangerous ones.

Some sociologists claim that after 15 years in prison, a degradation of the individual sets in and it is hard to expect the person to be able to return to normal life. In view of this, it has been suggested that the maximum prison sentence be reduced to 10 years. I am not sure that this is right. There are quite a number of crimes for which a 15-year sentence would be justified and fair. Moreover, in cases of particularly dangerous crimes the courts will be able to refrain from imposing the death sentence and to limit the punishment to long terms of imprisonment. I think greater confidence should be placed in the courts, which should approach this complex problem reasonably, without going to either extreme.

N.T.: A question that is now much discussed is: should those who directly carried out Stalin's repressions be prosecuted? What is your view, specifically, about the judges of those days?

V.T.: If any such persons are alive, then as a rule they are over 80 years old, for many the statute of limitations has expired, and proof of their criminality has largely been lost. But were such persons to be found, then probably one could and should decide whether to open an investigation.

As for the judges who in the 1930s and 1940s heard the cases of so-called "counterrevolutionary" crimes, some of them, according to available documents, were guilty of passing unmerited sentences. For instance, the now dead Ilrikh, Matuelvich, levlev. I name the dead not because I want to cover up for those still alive. No. We simply don't know of any such people, and the investigative bodies have found none. Now, when we are reviewing the cases of the 1930s and 1940s, and that is when most of the trials of "enemies of the people" took place, we make a point of checking who the judges were and what was their subsequent fate.

It should not be thought that persons directly responsible for falsifying criminal cases remained unpunished. Many of those who worked in the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs were tried and sentenced to death.

N.T.: What criminal cases are now being examined by the Supreme Court?

V.T.: If you mean cases that have not previously been examined by any lower court, then there are two.

"Churbanov Is Being Tried Not for His Family Connections, but for His Crimes."

The first is the case of the former First Deputy Minister of the Interior, Y. Churbanov, and a group of his subordinates. They have been charged with taking bribes and abuse of their official position. Even during the preliminary investigation of the case, it received a lot of publicity and evoked wide public interest. Yuriy Churbanov was the son-in-law of Leonid Brezhnev, who for 18 years headed our country. But Churbanov is being tried not for his family connections, but for his crimes. The hearing of the case will continue for several more weeks. At the beginning, Churbanov admitted to having on a number of occasions received large sums of money from senior officials of the Uzbek Republic, but he described them not as bribes but as abuse of his official position. We shall be able to speak in greater detail and more accurately about the case only when a verdict has been passed, not because I don't want to mention certain things.... But I believe a judge should abide by the principle of listening, listening and evaluating, and then summing up what he wants to say in the verdict....

The second case was handed up from the town of Sumgait in Azerbaijan, where 32 people, mostly Armenians, were killed as a result of mass rioting. The case was not heard in Azerbaijan, but passed on to the Supreme Court in order to ensure the utmost objectivity and lack of bias for the defendants A. Akhmedov, I. Ismailov and Y. Djafarov. This is not the first court hearing connected with the Sumgait events. Azerbaijani courts have already examined 19 cases and passed various sentences on 25 people.

I would say that the verdict on the case of Akhmedov, Ismailov and Djafarov could be pronounced before this month is out....

Zagladin on Human Rights Conference Conditions

PM0612094088 Paris LE MONDE in French 3 Dec 88 p 4

["A.J." report: "Moscow Adopts More Flexible Stance on Its Plan for Human Rights Conference"]

[Text] On Thursday, 1 December, Vadim Zagladin confirmed that the USSR no longer regarded the Western countries' agreement on a human rights conference in Moscow in 1991 as a precondition for concluding the Vienna CSCE negotiations and for the subsequent start of conventional arms negotiations. The Soviet president's adviser, who was speaking at a news conference in Paris, referred to the remarks made on this subject by the Kremlin chief to Mr Mitterrand in Moscow last week.

"We are ready (to hold this conference on human rights—LE MONDE editor's note) tomorrow," Mr Gorbachev said. "But if the Western countries hesitate, we can wait, for the time will come," he stressed. After describing the U.S. attitude in this matter as "insincere," Mr Zagladin added: "If the West is unwilling, it is not a tragedy; we can talk about it.... Realism involves compromises which make it possible to find solutions. But our proposal is still on the table."

During the same news conference, Mr Zagladin also confirmed that 52 people who can be regarded in the West as prisoners of "opinion" or "conscience" are still detained in the USSR. However, he said that 23 of them are being held for "other reasons," in other words various crimes or offenses.

As for the disturbances in the Caucasus, the Soviet representative emphasized the "delay" in the USSR on the nationalities question even though, he recalled, Yuriy Andropov pointed to the emergence of "new problems" in this sphere back in 1982. The situation is not easy, he said, but it is being controlled "in general" by the forces of order, at least in the big cities. At any event, it is necessary to "restore a calm situation to discuss things in a calm way."

Vadim Zagladin, who was more austere and more cautious in the past, has adapted to the flavor of the times and seems to take obvious pleasure in exercising "glasnost," although he hid behind his lack of information to avoid explaining why Mr Grigoryants, editor of the magazine GLASNOST, has just been arrested and sentenced to 1 month's imprisonment in Yerevan. "We are living through the most exciting period in our history... after the revolution," he emphasized.

Article Urges More Control Over Arms Spending

PM2911152688 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 46, 13 Nov 88 p 3

[Nikolay Portugalov "Political Diary" article: "In Defence of Defence Statistics"]

[Text] West German Defence Minister Rupert Scholz wrote recently in MN that in the USSR there has been a serious discrepancy... between political declarations and its actual military developments. Scholz repeated this remark in a speech at the Academy of Armoured Forces in Moscow, during West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl's visit. He said the Soviet foreign policy of armaments was a cause for apprehension and that the USSR had put some 1,600 new tanks into operation annually from 1984 to 1986, the three-year total being roughly equal to West Germany's entire tank force.

This is a well-known idea to which Western politicians and the Western media often refer, citing Pentagon intelligence data and analyses by strategic research institutes.

Scholz said many other things to which we had good reason to object. But no one refuted the statistics on Soviet tanks. Small wonder. Like the figures on our military production and spending cited by the West, none of us can get this data. Thus we can only say that

the Pentagon's data is doubtful and institutes can be mistaken. "That may be so," the Western opponents say, "then cite your own data yourself." "No, we can't do that!" It is a state secret which only our top military and defence industry officials know. We are prepared to exchange data on armaments at talks, but we cannot publish how many military systems we're producing or how many billions we're spending to do so.

Meanwhile, Kohl's advisors said that the modernization of tactical nuclear weapons in the European NATO countries would depend on the progress made at the forthcoming talks on reducing troops and weapons in Europe and on the USSR'S prepardeness to limit output of attack weapons, especially tanks. "How you settle this with your military-industrial complex (MIC) is your own problem," said one West German.

"Your MIC." Oh, come on, does it really exist? This is a legal question, even if the Soviet experts do sometimes say:"...our MIC".

One radical difference between us and the West is that our generals and defence-industry leaders do not get profits from selling weapons to the state. But honestly, isn't the influence on domestic and foreign policy, on the entire economic process, and the possibility of freely spending astronomical sums a cement firm enough to create an influential "pressure group" with its own specific interests sometimes different from the interests of the economy as a whole?

What about society's limited control over military spending which is a secret? Military spending in the West is under the control of parliaments. The data on the planned military systems and spending is subject to open discussions in elected organs and in the press. Of course, the Western MICs manage to deceive the parliaments in the fight for allocations. But they never think of questioning the legislators' right to publicly control the country's military spending.

And in our country? Glasnost loses its voice as soon as military spending and production are mentioned. The budget is a stable, nearly traditional 20.2 billion roubles a year—as against about 300 billion dollars in the USA. True, we have confessed that this is only a part of our defence spending.

But for now shouldn't we give at least an approximate figure on our real military spending? And what about the number of planned weapons systems, like tanks, for example? "Perish, the thought!" some may say. It's a military secret! But do real military secrets get given away this way? Even during the cold war our potential enemies didn't think of curtailing the control rights of their parliaments. From Western sources we know how many military systems were planned in the West and how much they would cost the taxpayers.

We think that legislators' public control of military spending and military production is an inalienable feature of democracy in a socialist law-governed state and that this will be expressed in the course of the grand parliamentary reform going on in our country.

Statistics To Reflect Living Conditions

LD0512140588 Moscow TASS in English 1223 GMT 5 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 5 TASS—Radical political and economic reforms started in this country have brought about the restructuring of the statistics system, Mikhail Korolyov, chairman of the USSR State Committee for statistics, stated at a meeting with Soviet and foreign journalists.

Speaking at the press centre of the USSR Foreign Ministry on Monday, he pointed out that until recently most attention had been devoted to the collection and publicatio of data on industrial and agricultural development. From now on, however, emphasis will be on social statistics. Next year it is planned to conduct ten major sociological studies and public opinion polls. They will help to analyze the incomes of 310,000 families of factory and office workers, farmers and pensioners, the population's demand for consumer goods, socio-economic factors of the formation of families, the conditions and character of working people's recreation. For the first time in 50 years statistical records will reflect people's living conditions. This survey will be carried out next year simultaneously with the national census. A minimal consumer budget (subsistence wage) will be determined, as well as its optimal level for various socio-demographic groups of the population and the country's regions.

Korolyov said that in conditions of expanding glasnost an entirely new branch of national statistics, political statistics, had begun to develop. It will help to evaluate the democratization of Soviet society, the participation of the population in the management of the state, people's attitude to everyday problems and the dynamics of inter- ethnic relations.

Until recently, he continued, the Soviet statistical service gave preference to overall indices for the whole of the country and disregarded distinctions between separate republics and regions. This is why comprehensive regional statistics are being introduced which would be able to fully reflect regional characteristics, including economic development, the migration of the population, the export and import of goods.

It was pointed out at the press conference that a system of statistical data was being developed which would aid an all-round analysis of the state of morality in the country. Negative phenomena, such as acts punishable under administrative law, crime, drug addiction and

alcoholism will be thoroughly analyzed. Because of the aggravation of environmental protection problems ecological statistics will be improved.

Korolyov said that 90,000 out of 150,000 items in Soviet statistical archives had been made public already and said that glasnost in this sphere would be expanded. This process will be promoted by the recently created information and publishing centres of the USSR Statistical Committee and those of union republics. Their prompt press releases will be delivered to newspapers, journals, educational and research institutions.

Internal Affairs Official Cited on Travel Abroad

PM2211111588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 6

[Interview with R. Kuznetsov, chief of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Main Administration of the Maintenance of Public Order Visa and Registration Department, by Ye. Shestinskiy, under the rubric "From Competent Sources": "Visiting People Abroad"—date, place not given]

[Text] [Shestinskiy] Who is entitled to travel abroad privately for limited periods of time?

[Kuznetsov] Any Soviet citizen who is of age and has received an invitation to this effect [Kuznetsov ends].

This is how my conversation with R. Kuznetsov, chief of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Main Administration for the Maintenance of Public Order Visa and Registration Department, opened.

"Naturally," Rudolf Alekseyevich continued, "certain temporary restrictions apply, for instance, to people who, by nature of their work, have knowledge which constitutes a state secret. Or people under judicial investigation. Incidentally, the list of these restrictions is relatively short and it is set out in Paragraph 25 of the Regulations on Entry into the USSR and Departure from the USSR."

[Shestinskiy] Where is it possible to acquaint oneself with this document?

[Kuznetsov] It was adopted in August 1986 and was published in the collection of government resolutions. It was also reprinted in the journal CHELOVEK I ZAKON [Man and Law] (No 2, 1987). We intend to publish our departmental instructions too in the future.

[Shestinskiy] In what way has the procedure pertaining to private visits abroad been simplified?

[Kuznetsov] Formerly the restriction of one visit per year applied. Now as many private visits as necessary may be made. The need to provide character references and all kind of information and "consents" which were very time-consuming to obtain has been done away with. During one international meeting I was reproached for the fact that in the Soviet Union only Communists were allowed to travel abroad. I had to explain that it is actually easier for nonparty people to travel abroad as they do not need to obtain the consent of a raykom itinerant commission. These commissions were abolished a year ago.

The length of the questionnaire has been reduced by two-thirds. It contains a minimum number of questions. The main thing for us is to be able to conclude whether the person in question has, by nature of their work, knowledge which constitutes a state secret, and whether this presents an obstacle to his and her travel abroad. The questionnaire covers the information necessary to issue a foreign-travel passport. If a person intends to travel abroad for a second time shortly after the first visit, he does not need to fill in the questionnaire again. He merely needs to declare in writing that there has been no change in the information supplied earlier and submit a report from his place of work or study. Questions which were of no relevance to the decision to be adopted have been removed. For instance, the size of the salary or wages, academic title, participation in elective organs, and so forth.

[Shestinskiy] The need to state "nationality" remains, however....

[Kuznetsov] It is of no consequence. Nationality cannot serve as an obstacle to a visit abroad.

[Shestinskiy] What other simplifications have been introduced?

[Kuznetsov] We no longer require information about when, where, and under what circumstances a citizen has met the person who has invited him. Invitations can be issued not just by relatives but also by acquaintances. And there is no longer a need to obtain the husband's or wife's consent for a termporary visit to any country.

[Shestinskiy] It is paradoxical: Everything is becoming simpler and easier, but the lines of people waiting to have their applications dealt with are getting longer and the deadlines set for the examination of documents are not being met....

[Kuznetsov] This is true and it is causing serious concern to the leadership of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs. We have simplified the procedure for citizens, but we need to carry serious restructuring in the work in our department, inside the service itself. We are working on it. As of next year we will try to meet the deadlines laid down by law. Another problem is that we do not know how many people will apply and when. Practical experience shows that summer is the peak period.

Economic aspects cannot be ignored either. Frequently people make use of their right to trips abroad for the sole purpose of acquiring all kinds of goods which are in short

supply. The point is that at present it is possible to change foreign currency for a 3-month stay in the country in question. Citizens change the full amount immediately. They can do this because the length of their stay abroad is not marked in the passport. Then they stay only a few days. Naturally, they manage to spend all the money and the upshot is that we are spending more currency than planned. The simplification of the formalities for trips abroad and the considerable increase in citizens' applications and in foreign currency exchanges have resulted in the waiting lines which are causing the delay in the processing of documents. In my opinion the question of the exchange of citizens' private funds into foreign currency needs sorting out.

There are also other reasons which lead to the formation of waiting lines. The main one is excessive centralization in the processing of documents needed for traveling abroad. At present they are handled by oblast, and in a number of places, republic apparatuses of the Visa and Registration Department. This means that sometimes the documents have to be sent over thousands of kilometers, and citizens themselves have to traipse round in their wake. We are not very thrifty with citizens' own means and frequently we also create specific difficulties for transport and other services. Only in Moscow and Leningrad can passports for foreign travel be issued by rayon internal affairs administrations, and even then only in the case of travel to socialist countries. The very need to send documents through the post, and the repetitive recording of these documents, slows down their processing. This problem has been reported to the government by the ministry and a corresponding decision has been adopted. As far as the solution of cadre and material and technical questions will permit, documents for foreign travel will be issued by Visa and Registration Department apparatuses at citizens' places of residence (at rayon level) and this will apply to all types of trips. However, in trying to solve this problem, we have come up against another—the need to create proper conditions for receiving citizens and dealing with their applications and providing city rayon organs with the forms required for the issue of foreign travel documents. Even now when these questions are handled only at oblast and republic level, acute problems have arisen as regards the provision of these forms and premises where citizens can be received.

A great deal is now being done in the country to improve services for the population. Our service must be no exception in this process. Citizens traveling to a socialist country have to pay a state duty of R30 into the local budget, and R200 if they are traveling to a capitalist country, and they have a right to demand a minimum of comfort when trying to sort out their documents rather than having to stand for hours in corridors, or even in the street.

[Shestinskiy] Why is it not possible for people to travel on their Soviet passports? This would, no doubt, resolve the problem of having to wait in line?

[Kuznetsov] This question has been partially solved already. As of next year, people will be able to travel to socialist countries with whom agreements on conditions of reciprocal visa-free private visits by citizens have been concluded on their passports which have been furnished with an insert. The actual date of the introduction of the new procedure now depends only on the manufacture by the factories of USSR Ministry of Finance Main Administration for the Production of Badges, Coins, and Orders [Goznak] of the requisite number of inserts for internal Soviet passports. We hope that the Goznak, which has always produced forms for the Visa and Registration Department promptly and to a high standard, will be able, on this occasion too, to promptly fulfill our order for the inserts which will significantly simplify the formalities required for Soviet citizens' trips abroad.

This procedure cannot be introduced for trips to capitalist countries for purely technical reasons. Our internal Soviet passport does not meet the demands made on foreign travel documents by many countries. Specifically, it does not indicate the holder's name and surname in French [sentence as published]. Furthermore, every country demands that a visa be entered in the foreign travel passport. In our passport under the existing provisions no additional endorsements can be made; it is technically not suited to this.

[Shestinskiy] Our readers' mail contains many examples of cases where Visa and Registration Department staff have returned applications without giving any explanation for rejecting them. Is this in order?

[Kuznetsov] Of course not. Our staff cannot simply return applications without an explanation and if this happens, it is a violation. It is true that very often Visa and Registration Department staff are criticized for not stating the exact reason for rejecting citizens' applications to travel abroad. But they are not always able to state the reason. For instance, a citizen has knowledge of state secrets or there are other reasons pertaining to state security. In this case our staff is guided by the conclusions of the appropriate ministries, state committees, or departments under whose jurisdiction the enterprises or organizations where the applicant works or has worked operate. Naturally, we are not familiar with these questions in detail, nor can we be. And when replying to applicants we only state the paragraph of the provision on entry to the USSR or departure from the USSR on the basis of which the application has been declined. If rather than a state secret it is a question of property claims, our official is obliged to openly inform the applicant of this, explaining the corresponding paragraph of the provision.

In the interests of safeguarding the rights of citizens and the observance of legality, and ensuring that the actions of the Visa and Registration Department are well-founded, an appeal system has been set up to review cases where an application for a foreign passport has

been rejected. Appeals of this kind will be examined by internal affairs organs who have been authorized to do this in accordance with the appropriate jurisdiction and within deadlines specified in USSR legislation on the procedure of the examination of citizens' proposals, statements, and complaints.

The statements and complaints that are being submitted by people undoubtedly contain a large grain of truth. Unfortunately the work of the Visa and Registration Department is still subject to crude violations of the established procedure for handing citizen's applications and there are frequent relapses into a disrespectful, bureaucratic attitude to people, formalism, and arrogance. What is needed is a psychological breakthrough in the awareness of each Visa and Department official of the importance of his work in dealing with Soviet and foreign citizens in conditions of the peace-loving foreign policy course steered by our country and in conditions of democracy and glasnost in the work of the state apparatus. Our officials must treat every application with the closest of attention and deal with it promptly in the spirit of legality and goodwill. This is our direct official duty and human obligation.

Foreign travel is the right of every Soviet citizen and can be restricted only by law. We must resolutely rid ourselves of the old stereotypes when trips abroad were regarded as some kind of luxury and a "favor" bestowed by Visa and Registration Department officials, and when a person applying for permission to travel abroad could be subjected to unpleasantness and even humiliation.

Official Confirms 1957 Nuclear 'Disaster'

OW0612102588 Tokyo KYODO in English 0939 GMT 6 Dec 88

[Text] Tokyo, Dec. 6 KYODO—A top ranking Soviet nuclear power official confirmed Tuesay there was a serious nuclear accident at a military complex in the Soviet Urals 31 years ago, breaking a long silence on the rumored disaster.

Yevgeniy P. Velikhov, vice president of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, said there has been no published information to date on the accident because it occurred at a military installation before the arrival of glasnost or openness.

"But what happened, what damages occurred, should be made open. I will try to find out what happened," he told reporters through an interpreter.

In the past, Soviet officials have been noncommital on the disaster which occurred in Kyshtym, south of Sverdlovsk.

The accident was first reported in the West by Soviet Biochemist Zhores Medvedev, who described the event in a 1976 article published in the magazine NEW SCIENTIST following his exile to Britain.

According to Medvedev, the 1957 explosion released large amounts of radioactive material, requiring evacuation of thousands of local residents.

Medvedev said that a chemical explosion involving radioactive wastes occurred at the plutonium-producing complex.

On last Friday Swedish Researcher Christer Larsson, speaking at a Tokyo Peace Symposium, made public for the first time photographs from satellite images that showed the incident was probably worse than the 1986 Chernobyl nuclear plant accident, which spewed radioactive waste around the world.

Referring to the Chernobyl disaster Velikhov said that the 31 deaths related to that disaster could have been avoided had those responsible been better prepared.

"The best thing is not to have an accident, but if a nuclear accident should occur, one has to be prepared technically," said Velikhov, an expert on nuclear power who played a major role in bringing the accident under control.

The science official suggested that technology be developed so that workers would not have to enter highly radioactive areas at times of disaster.

Velikhov spoke to reporters following a lecture on the Soviet Union's nuclear policy strategy sponsored by the Science and Technology agency and the Ministry of International Trade and Industry.

He is in Japan through Sunday at the invitation of the Japanese Government.

Power Emergency 'Nothing To Do With Reactor'

PM2311091388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 6

[Unattributed report: "No Need To Read Between the Lines"]

[Text] Just a couple of days ago our newspaper published an interview with Colonel General V. Kozhbatkhteyev, chief of staff of civil defense, under the headline "Civil Defense and Emergencies" (IZVESTIYA issue No 322). Right after publication, the editorial office started receiving telephone calls from the city of Nikolayev.

What had made its residents worried? The interview said: "There was an emergency shutdown of the No 1 power unit at the South Ukrainian AES." And then it started! Why had it been kept secret? Why had people not been informed? And so on. V. Fuks, director of the South Ukrainian AES, whom we telephoned, announced: "Yes, there were some mishaps: a short in the generator power line. The accident had nothing to do with the reactor."

Obviously, we did not realize that any mention of disorders in an AES demands especially factual and accurate treatment. And some of our compatriots are strongly committed to the habit of reading between the lines.

'Disturbances' in Chernovtsy in Wake of Disease

AU0512155488 Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAINA in Ukrainian 29 Nov 88 p 4

[RATAU report: "Troubled Days in Chernovtsy"]

[Text] **The resolute measures taken in Chernovtsy to improve the ecological conditions have sharply improved the sickness rate among children. But the situation in the city was recently complicated for other reasons.**

In spite of the objective data and conclusions drawn by the government commission on the causes of the disease and the way to overcome it once and for all, and conclusions which were promptly and systematically published in the press and broadcast on the radio and television, groundless rumors were widespread in the city. Some irresponsible people speculated that the disease had allegedly assumed mass proportions, that it did not only affect children, but also adults, and that the condition of patients being treated was deteriorating.

The poorly organized distribution of the additional food allocated for the intensive feeding of children added fuel to the fire. Long lines formed outside the stores issuing it. In addition, cans older than their shelf life appeared on counters.

In view of the situation that had emerged, last Friday [25 November] many people gathered in the city's central square to meet representatives of the local authorities, present their complaints and wishes, and receive information first hand. It was quite natural for the inhabitants of the city to want this. But the crowd of people who were genuinely worried about the health of their children was joined by demagogues and agitators. They chanted provocative slogans and offended those who were trying to hush up the ruffians.

The government commission urgently invited the members of the medical commission that had studied the causes of the disease, worked out methods to prevent and treat it, and that is now continuing to monitor the situation, to come to the city.

O.O. Baranov, USSR deputy minister of health; O.I. Kondrusev, medical officer; and G.A. Samsygina and O.G. Rumyantsev, chief pediatrician and hematologist of the USSR Ministry of Health, respectively, arrived in Chernovtsy the next day. They spoke at a schedule televised news conference. Referring to research data obtained in large scientific centers in the USSR and abroad, they again confirmed that the disease that had broken out in the city was connected with the effects of thallium combined with other aerosolized heavy metals that had found their way into the bodies of the children.

Replying to numerous questions, the specialists strongly emphasized that further preventive measures would curb the disease, which had already begun to abate, and which is no longer dangerous either to children or adults. Data concerning the course of the disease and the results of the analysis of the soil have been conveyed to large UNESCO and UNICEF scientific centers. The conclusions reached by foreign specialists on the causes of the disease and to treatment for it coincide with the Soviet physicians' own conclusions.

The people were once again informed in detail about the work to improve the ecological conditions in the city. The authorities have closed 14 enterprises, shops, and sections which were found to be ecologically harmful. By an obkom bureau decision, those guilty of polluting the city and discharging harmful substances have been held strictly accountable to the party. The sources of pollution are now being determined. In the opinion of the commission and other specialists, one of these sources lies in automobiles whose owners use chemical substances as an antiknock compound.

During the news conference, a crowd gathered before the city soviet building and demanded to see specialists from the capital, and when these appeared on an improvised tribune there was an uproar again. Under these conditions, neither the questions nor the answers were audible. As a result, the meeting was postponed until Sunday [4 December] and will be held in one of the city's largest halls.

Then furious ruffians, many of whom were drunk, exceeded all tolerable limits of public behavior. They abused those present, broke the panes in some windows of the gorispolkom headquarters, and injured two militiamen. Only the self-control and composure displayed by internal affairs officers prevented an incident with unpredictable consequences.

As a result of the steps taken, the situation in the city normalized on Sunday. Having obtained additional information, the anxious people dispersed, and those hiding behind the people's backs did not dare continue the disturbances.

Teachers' Paper Under Threat of Closure

PM3011130088 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 47, 20 Nov 88 p 15

[Anton Borisov article: "A Strange Play on a School Stage"]

[Text] The hubbub around the "UCHITELSKAYA GAZETA" (Teachers' Newspaper) can't yet be called a drama. But it has created a sort of detective story bordering on the theatre of the absurd.

Early this year MN (No. 8) wrote about the UCHITELSKAYA GAZETA. It reported how, with the advent of Vladimir Matveyev, as the new editor, the paper started to actively support everything innovating and creative in the world of teaching, to honestly analyze the far from simple life of our schools and to disprove exaggerated authorities. Readers' confidence in the Uchitelskaya Gazeta sharply grew and its circulation nearly doubled. But the newspaper also made enemies. They were quite often implacable and influential.

And now... The hosts of the evening TV programme Vzglyad (Glance) have told us several times already that TV viewers have been asking questions about the fate of the Uchitelskaya Gazeta, and whether it is true that the paper was to be closed. The question is hanging in the air, while high-placed academic authorities are in no hurry to answer it.

I've thumbed through files and again looked through the official news. There are reports that the newspaper Pravda has studied the publication of the magazine Rodina. There is information about the publication of the CPSU Central Committee News. And about the Governmental News, too. There should be something about the UCHITELSKAYA GAZETA, but there isn't.

But the NEW TIMES weekly (No. 39) carries an article by Simon Soloveychik, with the title "A Teacher Without a 'Teachers' Newspaper?" True, it does carry a quesiton mark. I read it: "The editorial collective of the UCHITELSKAYA GAZETA was officially informed that the paper will no longer be published as of next year. A weekly Obrazovaniye i Nauka (Education and Science) is to be published instead... A new editor has been appointed for the new edition."

I went to the K-9 Post Office—in one building with the USSR Ministry of Communications. A young woman told me: The "UCHITELSKAYA has been transformed into the Obrazovaniye i Nauka weekly. You can subscribe to it. The subscription rate is 6 roubles 24 kopeks."

I took the UCHITELSKAYA itself. In the October 15 issue I found the following: "You've gone too far... The paper is guided by the principle—I do whatever I like. Recently the paper has been working without any guidance. It has decided to completely take into its hands the holding of the teachers congress... We'll not allow that!" Who passed such a sentence on an all-union newspaper? The deputy head of the science and study establishments of the Moscow City Party Committee, that's who. On what grounds? Who authorized him to do so? No one knows.

But we do know the opinion of Lyubov Kezina, head of the Main Department of Education of Moscow: "We'll call on the Moscow teachers and UCHITELSKAYA will bite the dust."

And she did send out a call. On November 12 UCHITELSKAYA published a letter from V. Parkhomova, a Moscow teacher, which said that at the Kuybyshevskiy District Department of Education someone had unsuccessfully tried to force teachers and methodologists to write a letter to PRAVDA with accusations against the UCHITELSKAYA GAZETA. A similar thing happened in other Moscow districts, too.

But the other side is not sleeping either, for example, the paper Molodoi Leninets, in Kaluga, on October 29 published an appeal to start a collection of signatures protecting UCHITELSKAYA. The first hundreds of signatures were already collected, the paper wrote.

I must say that the whole thing hasn't as yet become a drama. The paper continues to come out. Yet, it's easy to imagine the state of the staff who put out each issue as though it were the last.

But it's obviously not enough to just say that people should not be kept in ignorance. It is high time to make a few some other things clear, too. For example, is there any need to shake up a paper which enjoys well-merited respect? Wasn't this idea born of someone's desire to "keep it in its place" or to "disperse it" altogether? Why weren't the teachers asked to give their opinion? And if the new weekly is really neecessary (I do allow for that), then why shouldn't the paper become, as many people suggest, the organ of the teachers union now being set up? And, lastly, who are the hatchers of this intrigue?

The Congress of Workers in Education will open on December 20. These questions are bound to be discussed there. Exhaustive answers to them are needed not only to calm the teachers. They're also needed to lessen the risk of staging new productions of this strange play.

New Monthly Newspaper on Consumer Rights Started

LD2911144888 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 29 Nov 88

[Text] The first special monthly issue of the newspaper SOVETSKAYA TORGOVLYA, V ZASHCHITE PRAV POTREBILELYA [Defending the Rights of the Consumer] has come out today. Readers will find on its pages material on the development of the movement to defend consumer's rights, on stimulating the production of goods for the elderly, and on items for which the government has fixed low prices for the benefit of society. In addition, the issue contains a large amount of statistical data. The special issue of the newspaper SOVETSKAYA TORGOVLYA will come out on the last Tuesday of every month. It can be obtained through subscription and will also be sold at retail establishments.

Saratov Aircraft Plant Introduces Lease Contract

OW2511075388 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0930 GMT 22 Nov 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; O. Shommer video report from Saratov]

[Text] A new form of labor organization—the lease contract—is being introduced by the Saratov aircraft plant collective.

[Begin recording] [Shommer] In your opinion, how much can this plane cost? It is doubtful that anyone can answer this question even at the plant itself. The Yak-42 presently has at least three different prices. One is the plant's cost of producing the plane. The Ministry of Civil Aviation pays a different price altogether, while foreign companies pay yet a third price. Moreover, the ministry buys the plane for a price that does not cover the production cost, but later, nevertheless, compensates by paying state subsidies. Is it possible then to reorganize the price structure and do without the subsidies altogether, without incurring any losses? The aircraft plant decided that it is possible.

[Yu.P. Kovshov, identified by caption] We became sick and tired of the old practice of begging the ministry, asking money for housing and capital construction, social development. So we think that changing to the lease system should, first of all, teach us to do our accounting and work without losses....

[Shommer, interrupting] ...and, first of all, cut production costs. Under the new management conditions, workers themselves became interested in this. The press-forging shop was the first to change to the lease system.

[Supervisor] They have stuck us with this Weingarten machine tool. It costs a million rubles, yet only a meager part of its capacity is needed. In practical terms, it is hardly used. It does not pay for itself. If we lease it, as we have been offered, it will devour the lion's share of our profit.

[Shommer] The plant administration is now engaged in correcting the mistakes of decisions regarding replacement of equipment that were made in the past and were poorly thought through. Part of this equipment will be replaced, some will be used on two shifts, and some will be given out to leasors, enabling them to accept orders from the outside, from other organizations and enterprises.

Yuriy Pavlovich, might this shop, which is now the only one at the enterprise to change to the lease system, find itself in isolation?

[Kovshov] Leasing, after all, is a revolutionary concept. One shop adopts it. Now, will it succeed or not? We are convinced that it will succeed.

[Shommer] The leasing arrangements are only now being established at the plant. To aid them and help the aircraft builders gather speed, a new form of internal accounting between the workshops has been introduced. The check system takes into account all costs, even including the cost of electric power. The leasors will be allowed to have their own bank account. Already, a correctly calculated economic variant has resulted in a 100 percent increase this year in profitability compared to last year, at the same time reducing the standard stock holdings by half. [end recording]

7th Day Adventist USSR Headquarters Opened

PM0612113188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 6

[TASS correspondent report: "Religious Center Set Up"]

[Text] Tula, 2 Dec—An administrative and religious center for the Seventh Day Adventists was opened today in the settlement of Zaokskiy, not far from Tula. It is located in a specially-built building. There will also be a seminary here which is intended to train priests for this church. A base has also been set up for publishing activities.

Neil Wilson, the president of the general conference of the Seventh Day Adventists international organization, was present at the center's opening ceremony.

Leaders Sign Obituary of Former Government Aide

PM0512130188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Obituary: "Aleksandr Nikolayevich Mishutin"]

[Excerpts] Aleksandr Nikolayevich Mishutin, former chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Juridical Commission and personal pensioner of all-Union status, died 30 November 1988 after a long illness.

A.N. Mishutin was born 16 March 1905 in Viry village, Tagayevskiy Rayon, Ulyanovsk Oblast. [passage omitted] From 1964 until his retirement in 1970 he was chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Juridical Commission. [passage omitted]

A.P. Biryukova, A.I. Lukyanov, M.S. Smirtyukov, T.N. Menteshashvili, A.S. Pavlov, V.V. Bakatin, V.A. Kryuchkov, V.I. Terebilov, B.V. Kravtsov, A.Ya. Sukharev, N.P. Malshakov, F.D. Bobkov, P.I. Sabayev, P.G. Mishunin, A.M. Rekunkov, I.S. Samoshenko, I.M. Ostanniy, Ya.E. Dzenitis, R.V. Zhukova, G.D. Golubov, V.N. Zhbankov.

Semipalatinsk Oblast Receives Central TV

LD0512180188 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1430 GMT 5 Dec 88

[Text] The residents of yet another zone of Semipalatinsk oblast, Chingis Tau, can now watch central television programs. In the central complex of the Berlik sheep-breeding sovkhoz, a Moskva system automatic relay station is operating, and by means of satellite communication it provides constant good reception. Relay stations have been set up at most localities in areas of difficult terrain or which are remote from the central station. Programs broadcast by Central, Republican, and local television companies are being watched by two-thirds of the rural residents of the Semipalatinsk oblast. By the end of the 5-year plan, all citizens will be guaranteed good television reception.

Correction to Official's Interview on Hijacking

The following correction to the item subheadlined "Consular Aide in Israel Cited," published in the 6 December Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, page 111, is supplied from Moscow PRAVDA in Russian, Second Edition, of 6 December, under the headline "Correction." The boxed announcement states:

"A mistake, for which the editorial office is to blame, was permitted to occur in the item entitled "'Thunder' Did Not Rumble" in the newspaper's 5 December 1988 issue. The name of Israel's defense minister should read Y. Rabin. We offer our apologies to readers."

The correction applies to the fourth paragraph, last sentence of the 5 December article, in which Israel's defense minister was identified as "Yitzhaq Shamir."

Agricultural

Ligachev Attends Food Industry Exhibition

PM0512143988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Dec 88 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "More Local Products in the Stores"]

[Text] The exhibition "Food Commodities and Technological Equipment for Their Production" has opened at the USSR Exhibition of National Economic Achievements. It is essentially an opportunity for the country's republics, krays, and oblasts to report back on their work on the development of the food industry and of facilities for the storage of agricultural produce.

The exhibition stands and exhibits reflect the state of agriculture and food industry sectors and show the prospects and potential for improving food supplies for the population in different regions of the country.

Ye.K. Ligachev, V.P. Nikonov, A.V. Vlasov, and V.S. Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Gosagroprom, took part in the exhibition's work over a 3-day period. V.V. Shcherbitskiy attended the review of the activity of the Ukraine's oblasts. Republic, kray, and oblast leaders read reports at the exhibition. They spoke of increasing the output of agricultural produce, improving the work of food industry enterprises, and expanding the variety and improving the quality of dairy, meat, and fish products, confectionery products, and fruit and vegetable juices and canned products.

Much work on food supplies is being done in Belgorod, Penza, Orel, Sumy, Kharkov, Tselinograd, and Grodno Oblasts, the Kirghiz and Belorussian SSR's, and some other regions of the country.

The participants in the exhibition also saw models of new equipment and machinery for the processing industry sectors of the agro-industrial complex developed and manufactured by machine-building enterprises.

It was noted at the exhibition that the urgency of food supplies has still not subsided in a number of regions in the country. Success in ensuring the sufficiently steady development of crop farming and of agriculture as a whole has still not been achieved. Many republics and oblasts still produce low potato and vegetable harvests and insufficiently high milk yields and animal weight gains at stock units. The exhibition proves that full economic accountability, collective contracts, and leasing make it possible to release the tremendous potential of kolkhozes and sovkhozes in very brief time periods.

Special emphasis was placed on the need for the fuller inclusion of local resources in food stocks and for the transition of republics, krays, and oblast to self-sufficiency in basic products through their own production. A sufficiently effective economic mechanism has now been created for this purpose, enabling local organs to utilize all above-plan output to improve supplies for the local population once set targets for product deliveries to centralized stocks have been met.

In this context, republic, kray, and oblast leaders were asked to devote more attention to the development of citizens' personal subsidiary farms. It is necessary to supply them with sufficient feed, productive livestock, and young animals and poultry and to conduct purchases of surplus meat, milk, potatoes, fruit, and vegetables from the population on an organized and mutually advantageous basis. There must be a bolder approach to different forms of cooperation between personal subsidiary farms and public sector production. It would be expedient for every kolkhoz and sovkhoz to set up specialized links supplied with the necessary equipment to offer services to personal subsidiary farms.

A great role in the rational utilization of local food resources can and must be played by the consumer cooperative system.

Of course, regions' self-sufficiency in food does not mean weakening the social division of labor or territorial specialization founded on consideration for favorable natural and economic conditions, historical traditions, and experience. In particular, self-sufficiency does not presuppose any exclusiveness for a given region or disregard for the interests of the state as a whole.

Another factor seriously hindering the solution of the food question is the inadequate capacity of the material and technical base for storage and processing. Its present state makes it impossible to ensure the comprehensive processing of agricultural raw materials or to substantially reduce the large losses of these materials. Virtually all machine-building ministries and defense sectors of industry are now involved in the development of processing industry sectors. Many of the new machines and equipment displayed at the exhibition inspire confidence that the food industry's base will reach modern levels in the next few years.

Attention was drawn to the fact that it is necessary to actively involve cities' industrial potential in the consolidation of processing enterprises without waiting for machine builders to produce sufficient quantities of machines and equipment for complete retooling. The cities could take on a sizable share of the building, reconstruction, and technical servicing of food industry enterprises, storage and refrigeration facilities, hothouse production facilities, the trade base, and the training of suitable cadres. The ultimate purpose of all this is to ensure food supplies for city residents and labor collectives.

The paramount task of local party committees and economic organs is to ensure the commissioning on schedule of processing industry enterprises now under construction. Food production could be substantially boosted through the commissioning of smaller enterprises sited as near as possible to kolkhozes and sovkhozes.

At the same time, it is necessary to make fuller use of existing meat combines, dairy plants, confectionery factories, and other food industry enterprises. Their capacities ought to be increased through reconstruction and retooling.

Party committees and primary party organizations must devote due attention to the shaping of stable collectives at these enterprises and must show concern for providing them with proper production conditions and for improving the professional skills of cadres.

I.I. Skiba, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Agrarian Department; Ye.I. Sizenko, L.B. Vasilyev, and A.I. Iyevlev, USSR ministers; and N.M. Zaychenko and N.F. Kulinich, deputy chairmen of the USSR Gosagroprom, took part in the discussion of these questions.

Late Nov Weather, Crop Status Reported

PM0712091588 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 6 Dec 88 p 2

[Agrometeorologist I. Ignatova report: "Weather and Crops"]

[Text] In the final 10 days of November cold weather persisted over most of the European part of the USSR with an air temperature 3-7 degrees below the long-term average. The weather was warmer than usual only in most of the North Caucasus region, the Volga region, and the southern half of the Ural region. Winter grain crops and perennial grasses north of a line from Chernovtsy through Kirovograd, Zaporozhye, Rostov-na-Donu, Stavropol, and Elista to Volgograd were in a state of winter dormancy under a snow cover of varying depth. The snow cover was between 15 cm and 30 cm deep in most places at the end of November with 31-40 cm in Arkhangelsk, Vologda, and Yaroslavl Oblasts, the Komi ASSR, and the eastern Bashkir ASSR.

In the east of the Northwest region, in the Northern region, in the north of the Central and Volga-Vyatka regions, and in some parts of Perm Oblast and the Bashkir ASSR, where the snow cover was over 25 cm deep and the soil was frozen to a depth of less than 10 cm, the soil temperature at a depth of 3 cm fell somewhat (to minus 4 degrees) as a result of the heavy frosts (minimum air temperature between minus 21 and minus 28 degrees). Conditions for the overwintering of fall-sown crops improved.

In the south of Latvia, in Lithuania, in southwest Belorussia, in the west of the Central-Chernozem region, and also over most of the Ukraine, and of Rostov and Volgograd Oblasts and in some parts of Saratov and Kuybyshev Oblasts, the snow cover in the fields where crops are overwintering was less than 10 cm deep. However, there were no heavy frosts in those places and the minimum soil temperature at the depth of the tillering nodes of winter grain crops and at the depth of the root neck of grasses remained chiefly in the minus 2 to minus 5 degrees range. The overwintering of crops has been successful.

In the extreme southern rayons of the Ukraine and over most of the North Caucasus vegetation resumed at the beginning of the 10-day period, when the daytime air temperature was 14-18 degrees, and slight growth was recorded among fall-sown grain crops and perennial grasses. The moisture supply to crops was mostly good. In the second half of the 10-day period the weather became colder and plant vegetation ceased.

Over most of Western Siberia the overwintering of fall-sown crops has been successful because there have been no heavy frosts and the minimum soil temperature at tillering node depth remained in the minus 2 to minus 6 degrees range.

In southern Kazakhstan and the Central Asian republics the weather was predominantly warmer than usual. Fall-sown grain crops and perennial grasses grew throughout the 10-day period.

Agricultural Developments for 30 Nov-4 Dec

LD0512015488 [Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian on 30 November-4 December. GMT times of the broadcast are given in parentheses at the end of each item.

30 November

The cotton harvest has been completed in Kirghizia. 78,600 tonnes have been delivered for processing; this is 10 percent more than planned. Nearly all have been deemed to be of top quality. (1430)

1 December

In Krasnodarsk Kray, approximately 300,000 hectares for spring sowing remain to be plowed. More than 4 million tonnes of fertilizer must still be spread on the land. Approximately 200,000 tonnes of sugar beets await harvesting. (0300)

First samples from the RSFSR winter crop fields show that the crops are in good condition. Autumn grain crops have been sown for next year's harvest, amounting to an above-plan figure of 23 million hectares. Phosphorous fertilizer was used on these crops. The land of the RSFSR is almost completely covered with snow. (1200)

2 December

Agro-industrial complex workers in Belgorod Oblast have fulfilled the plan for animal produce 1 month ahead of schedule. 740,000 tonnes of milk and 235,500 tonnes of meat have been delivered to processing enterprises. (0500)

3-4 December

No items monitored.

Scientific

Joint French Crew Prepares for Space Walk

LD0712113088 Moscow TASS in English 1126 GMT 7 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 7 TASS—By a TASS correspondent reporting from mission control centre:

A Soviet-French crew are continuing preparations for experiments outside the orbital Mir (peace) station in keeping with the joint flight programme.

In the past days the cosmonauts checked equipment to be used during the space walk and prepared research apparatus and tools necessary for work on the outer side of the orbital complex.

Aleksandr Volkov and Jean-Loup Chretien will undergo a medical check-up to determine the response of the cardio-vascular system to physical load, and conduct a training session in spacesuits.

The research plan envisages a series of measurements of ionizing space radiation, using the circe equipment, and biological experiments.

The flight of the manned complex Mir is proceeding normally.

All the cosmonauts are in high spirits.

News Conference Held on Energiya-Buran System

Safety Features Noted

LD0612143788 Moscow TASS in English 1400 GMT 6 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 6 TASS—All the units of the Energiya-Buran space transportation system have multiple back-ups to ensure crew safety at every phase of the pre-launch preparations and flight, the system's chief designer Boris Gubanov said on Tuesday.

He was speaking at a news conference at the press centre of the Soviet Foreign Ministry.

Speaking at the same meeting, Gleb Lozino-Lozinsky, who was in charge of work to develop the Buran glider and its thermal insulation, said that all precautions are also taken during the flight's boost phase.

If a hazard occurs within the first two minutes of launch, the cosmonauts' seats are automatically ejected, catapulting the crew to safety even if the rocket explodes.

It is also possible for Buran to separate from Energiya in an emergency and land on one of the airfields along the planned flight's route.

If one of the rocket's boosters fails, the spaceship will reach a low orbit and return to earth after circling once, Lodzino-Lozinskiy said.

Finally, if two boosters fail, Energiya will automatically perform a return maneuvre—a loop with a radius of hundreds of kilometres—and then Buran will detach itself and land on a runway.

Academician Vladimir Barmin, chief designer of space launch complexes, said that when the two new launch pads were built at Baykonur space port, provision was made for every possible emergency.

The facilities at a pad won't be damaged even if there is an explosion at the other.

Besides the landing strip at Baykonur, two more runways are under construction in the vicinity of Simferopol in the Crimea and in the east of the Soviet Union to enable Buran to land from any orbit.

The space shuttle can also use an ordinary airfield if it has no other choice.

System's Future Uses Outlined

LD0612144188 Moscow TASS in English 1427 GMT 6 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 6 TASS—The Energiya-Buran space transportation system will enable scientists to create in the next decade a new-generation orbital station to replace Mir, Yuriy Semyonov, chief designer of the Buran orbiter, said at a news conference here on Tuesday. The Buran made its first fully-automated test flight on November 15, 1988.

"The station Mir, which has been in orbit since February 1986, will be complete by early 90s—it will host five specialized modules and its overall mass will exceed 120 tons", said Semyonov, a corresponding member of the Soviet Academy of Sciences. "The possibility of attaching the Buran space vehicle to it is presently being studied".

"Work to develop a new-generation orbital complex to accomodate the heavy-lift booster Energiya and the space orbiter Buran will begin next decade. The complex will be able to produce materials needed by people on earth. It could likewise serve as a laboratory to conduct research into exo-atmospheric astronomy and allow scientists to install large telescopes".

The multi-purpose launch vehicle Energiya can haul not only re-usable spacecraft but also other payloads of over a hundred tons into space, including units of a prospective orbital station. The system differs in key respects from the U.S. space shuttle system which is an orbital spacecraft propelled by engines fired by hot-hydrogen and two first-stage solid-fuel boosters. The payload in the cargo bay does not exceed 25 tons.

Several re-usable spacecraft are under construction in the USSR. They will be used to carry into orbit complex space objects requiring post-launch assembly by mechanical devices, robots and highly qualified specialists. The other task is to retrieve unique spacecraft such as the Salyut-7 station which moved to high orbit two years ago.

Speakers at the news conference spoke in detail about the future application of the equipment and technology used to build the Buran. For instance, the automatic landing system involving radio signals and cryogenic technology will find a variety of applications in civil aviation, safety system with multiple backups can be used in nuclear engineering.

Additional Applications Noted

LD0712095088 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1530 GMT 6 Dec 88

[Text] A news conference given today at the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center devoted to the maiden flight of the Soviet reusable craft "Buran" was further evidence of the policy of glasnost. Foreign journalists were confronted by a whole constellation of heads of the collectives that developed the space technology. Journalists' questions were answered by Yuriy Pavlovich Semenov, Boris Ivanovich Gubanov, Gleb Yevgeniyevich Lozino-Lozinskiy, Vladimir Pavlovich Barmin, Vladimir Lavrentiyevich Lapygin, and Yuriy Trofimovich Filaretov, whose names were until recently not even mentioned in the press. This is how they answered a question about the prospects being opened to the national economy by the creation of "Buran" and its use jointly with orbital stations:

[Begin recording] [Unidentified speaker] "Buran" could not have done what it did without the use of modern computer equipment. The equipment, which consists of four computers, with a rapid operation rate of up to 1 quadrillion a second, could take a worthy place in both the nuclear industry and the aviation industry. There is no need to explain what economic benefit we can obtain from such an application.

[Second unidentified speaker] Undoubtedly the importance of the creation of the custom-built "Buran" craft lies in the fact that a large quantity of new materials, without whose development such a craft could not have been so effective, cannot fail to find applications in the national economy. You well know how widely the use of various nonmetallic composite materials has spread to industrial production, has been finding more and more use, and has reached a substantial percentage compared with metal ones. And from this point of view the production of the new materials has been organized, materials which were developed to ensure the construction of "Buran" and which are the basis of the further development of similar plants making it possible to substantially increase the economy, efficiency, life, and the reliability of a whole number of systems. They are also being applied in the motor industry, in transportation, and a number of other industries. The importance of this can hardly be exaggerated. In this respect space technology is, not only in our country but as you well know, abroad too, a means for the introduction of new technical development overall.

[Third unidentified speaker] The technical solutions which were embodied in the ground control complex for the "Buran" system were developed in parallel for application to the country's air traffic control system which

will now replace our country's existing air traffic control system in practically all airports for navigation and landing.

[Fourth unidentified speaker] We now have the "Mir" station working in space, a new type of multimodule station. By 1991 there will be up to four modules working on the "Mir" station, and the overall mass of the station will be some 120 tons. We have plans for the joint operation of the "Buran" craft with that station as an experiment, but the station works successfully with the developed "Soyuz" and "Progress" craft. All we have learned will serve as the basis for the development of the next generation—I think that station will emerge in the next decade by which time a microproduction plant will have been created on a broad scale for the production of materials not possible to be produced on the ground—bioproducts, radio telescopes. And undoubtedly in this work a worthy place will be taken by the "Buran," which is now having its first test flights. [end recording]

Poor Security Cited in Radioactive Cesium Theft

WA18300166 Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 15 Nov 88 p 4

[Article by KAZTAG correspondents V. Lutsenko and Yu. Kruzhiliy: "Incident: Disappearance of Radioactive Isotopes"]

[Text] The militia and the Sanitary and Epidemiological Service are combing one microrayon of the Kara-Kalpak capital in search of sources of radioactive cesium stolen from the local university.

After moving into a new building, the mathematics department turned its former building over to a school for gifted children. Some equipment once bought for the physics department laboratory and for some reason no longer needed was taken to a nearby "storage room"—a small room built with capital repair funds and not under anyone's jurisdiction. True, there were bars on the window. Senior instructor B. Allaberganov checked from time to time to see that the bars were still intact and the equipment still there. On 31 October he discovered that children studying at the nearby school were evidently extraordinarily gifted. The bars were broken and part of the equipment had disappeared, including two GGP-2 gamma-ray-emitting density gauges contaminated with radioactive cesium. These devices could present a serious danger if improperly handled.

The alarm was raised after some of the equipment was brought in by children or found abandoned. One of the density gauges was also found, but its radioactive source was missing.

In talks with B. Allaberganov, physics department dean B. Adbukamalov, and acting rector K. Uteniyazov, it was discovered that record keeping on the equipment was characterized by confusion and that regulations governing the storage of such equipment had been violated and continue to be violated. The local authorities did not bother to inform the residents of the city at large. True, the doors to the storage room have been sealed. But the bars remain broken, so anyone who wishes to can enter the storage room, especially as the building still does not have a security guard.

This is what V. Veynshteyn, chief radiation safety specialist with the UzSSR Ministry of Health, had to say: "We continue to reap the bitter fruits of the sloppiness and negligence that characterized the era of stagnation. It has been about 15 years since the university acquired that equipment. Yet in all that time no one took the trouble to arrange with medical personnel and the militia for the proper storage and security of these radioactive isotopes. Specifically, one flagrant violation was moving the density gauges from the old physics building to an inadequate storage room without proper consultations and without our knowledge. Those responsible should be punished."

"How dangerous are the lost containers? What do they look like?"

"They are shiny, oblong metal cylinders about 40 cm long and about 10-15 cm in diameter containing an ampoule of the isotope. The danger can be judged by the fact that the radioactive half-life of cesium is approximately 30 years. That is how long this dangerous item could lie in wait for a victim. That is why the staff members from the Kara-Kalpak ASSR Sanitary and Epidemiological Service who are conducting the search in conjunction with the militia are so concerned. These things absolutely must be found! And one thing that can be done to accomplish that is to inform the public about this through the local press, television, and radio."

The irresponsibility and incompetence of the administrators of Nukus University could lead to unforeseen consequences.